THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION VOLUME 2, NUMBER OCTOBER 1991

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WORKS IN PROGRESS

A politician thinks of the next election; the statesman thinks of the next generation." James Freeman Clarke

Jeff Dickison:

WIP's Choice For New Port Commissioner

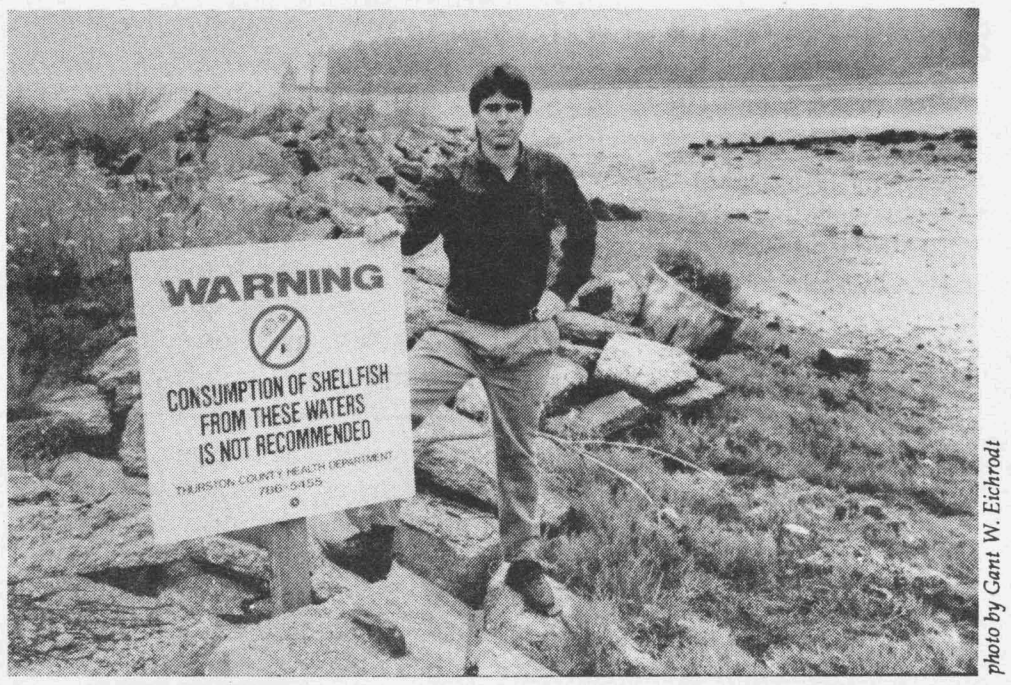

photo by Gant W. Eichrodt

Kirsten and Pat Holm

Jeff Dickison will be running for Port Commissioner in the upcoming Port Commissioner race on November 5. In the following article, we interviewed Steve Wilcox and Jeff Dickison to find out more about Jeff and his ideas on the Port. Steve Wilcox is a longtime Port watcher who has a Master's Degree in Industrial Engineering. Pat Holm is a state worker and member of Local #443. Pat's daughter Kirsten is a Ph.D. candidate in sociology who studies and participates in public administration. Her passion is in defending public interests.

Steve: Why do you want to be a Port Commissioner?

Jeff: I see the port as being a tremendous asset for making positive changes in our local economy — As an entity of economic development, it can be a strong influence in making the transition to a more just, more sustainable economy. Currently the opportunity for the Port to play this positive role in our region's economic development is being vastly under-utilized. I'd like to change this.

Pat: What do you do for the Squaxin Island Tribe?

Jeff: I'm a habitat biologist for the Tribe. We work with many governmental bodies: Fisheries, Wildlife, Natural Resources, Ecology, various health departments, NOAA (National Oceanographic Atmospheric Administration) and EPA (Environmental Protection Agency).

Kirsten: What attracted you to working for the Squaxin Island Tribe?

Jeff: Well, I was working on my Master's Degree in Fish Biology at the University of Washington back between 1982 and 1984. When I began thinking about employment, it became apparent to me that the quality people, the people I had the greatest respect for, were working for the Tribes. It wasn't that I necessarily agreed with all their conclusions, but I kept seeing these competent, creative people who thought through the complex management debates involved rather than dealing with problems in a rote way. I thought that maybe that was the place for me. It also seemed that working with the tribes allowed a flexibility in dealing with issues, with dealing with how they fit into the bigger picture. In fact, it does; and I find that very satisfying.

I suppose I also had a personal affinity toward the Tribes' political position at the time. That was after the Boldt decision had been made (that the Tribes retained a share of the fish catch), but co-management between the state and tribes had not yet been worked out. The state was fighting (ala Slade Gorton) with the tribes a lot, and every little thing was taken to court and hammered out at great expense to everyone involved. I liked the way the Tribes proceeded in producing a workable co-management plan. The tribes are flexible in their approach. They want to develop consensus between groups and a constituency of agreement.

Pat: Is there something in Native American philosophy that particularly interests you?

Jeff: The Tribes believe in sustainability, which involves a basic philosophy that everything is connected, that any decision you make affects how you make any other decision. The Native American way of dealing with an issue involves taking into consideration a number of things when you look at something — For example, spirituality, family values, all those aspects are brought into the picture. Very seldom are decisions made based on one element alone or just one resource. Thus, a decision may hurt your family or your income in the short run, but the higher good is to protect the resource for future generations. I think we need to use this kind of approach when dealing with problems in our society.

This doesn't mean we can't use resources — I'm not a preservationist who thinks we should never cut a tree. We just can't abuse our resources for future generations. We can't cut trees beyond the rate that we can replace them, which means we have to keep soil fertile, watershed areas intact, etc.

We can't generate garbage beyond our capacity to re-use it. In other words, we can't continue to fowl our own nest. This ancient concern for sustainability has served the Tribes for thousands of years. While we can't turn society back, I think we can return to these ancient

(Continued back page)

Sam [Bradley] has really cracked open the Port's old boys' club. I respect that Sam has insisted on public meetings in the evenings when working people can come and participate. That's very important.

The Bicycle:

Vehicle For A Small Planet

Matt Love

Marcia Lowe delivered the keynote address at the National Bicycle Congress held at the Evergreen State College last summer. Lowe is a staff researcher at the World Watch Institute. She has authored two World Watch Papers on transportation issues and writes for World Watch magazine. She has recently had articles published in Technology Review, Utne Reader, and the Futurist. She is currently working on a book on alternative energy issues. Matt Love interviewed her on the Evergreen Campus on the Fourth of July, immediately after she presented a workshop entitled 'Alternatives to the Automobile" with Michael Replogle, Director of the Institute for Transportation and Development Policy. In the interview, Matt makes reference to an earlier meeting, when he sat in on a meeting Marcia had with employees at the Energy Office.

Q: There must be formidable obstacles to getting people out of their cars and into other modes of transportation.

I think there's no question that the oil companies are really driving transportation policy, in this country far more than people's actual choices, and their actual preferences.

A: Right. I think it's certainly true that a motor vehicle holds a certain allure to everyone, to all human beings; it represents freedom, flex-

(Continued page 8)

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Letters

This letter is in response to one Matt wrote to Jolene Unsoeld with which he included a T-shirt he designed depicting the Exxon Valdez's spill. It read Toxxin and showed a dead bird.

Matt Love
Works In Progress
Dear Matt:

Jolene Unsoeld:
Not Just Another Environmental Crank

Re your displeasure now that you have learned of my ownership of Exxon stock:

1. This has been reported in the news every year since I first ran for office in 1984.

2. I inherited it from my mother. There are some things about our family ownership/investments that will not change as long as my father is living.

3. Even if I wanted to divest myself of the stock, it isn't in my possession. It is more or less permanently used as collateral on personal loans that have helped finance my political activities.

4. I once thought I was eager to get rid of the stock at the first opportunity, but I find it quite satisfying to be able to question and blast the oil industry and its defenders in the administration "as a stock holder". Just as they are ready to dismiss me as another environmental crank on the Merchant Marine Committee, that magic phrase throws them into confusion.

5. I do take perverse delight in voting my shares with a fellow group of minority stockholders on a number of progressive and environmental issues. Because of congressional responsibilities, I have voted by mail ballot.

6. When and if I ever get into a position where I could sell the stock, and its possession no longer has shock value with the industry, I probably will do so.

In the meantime, I suggest you practice conservation of energy and reduce the oil industry's profits. Because I do not wear T-shirts, and this one is too good to leave abandoned on the shelf, I am returning it to you for recycling.

Sincerely,
Jolene Unsoeld

Put a Thorne in the FBI's Paw

The following letter was submitted by John Thorne, longtime activist and attorney. Many of you may remember him as a defense attorney in the Wounded Knee and Soledad Brothers cases. He continues, and we look forward to hearing from him when he returns. Contributions and correspondence can be mailed to John Thorne, 1625 Delphi Rd. SW, Olympia, WA 98502.

September 2, 1991
Dear Friends,

I am asking for a contribution to help Frank [Wilkinson] and NCARL [National Committee Against Repressive Legislation], and myself... the "myself" help being to get me to Washington D.C. for the national conference concerning the "FBI and the First Amendment."

I look forward to talking with the opening luncheon speaker as Don Edwards has been a close friend since his first election in 1962 and my representative in Congress when I lived in San Jose, CA before moving to Olympia, WA some ten years ago. I worked very closely with him in a most important campaign when I served as Northern California chair of Frank's "National Committee to Abolish HUAC," and as you know, Don was the leading force in Congress to put that committee where it belongs... out of existence.

Any excess money received over my expenses will go to NCARL and/or the organization Frank started recently, "The First Amendment Foundation" mentioned Alexander Cockburn's, "Beat the Devil" column in the August *the Nation*. I hope you can make a contribution as soon as possible so as to allow time to make the plane reservations at the lowest possible rates. I am told housing is being made available at a very reasonable rate, and I do want to cut my expenses as much as possible so as to contribute more in your names to NCARL, and unless you direct otherwise you will be listed by name as contributors. When I return you will receive a written report, and I will be available to talk with you individually or with any group you suggest.

Thanks for your time and for any help you can offer in our continuing need to stop the destruction of not only our First Amendment rights, but of all our claimed rights of freedom. Any reading of the daily papers shows how the Supreme Court and the Executive branch are seemingly determined to continue our nation down a road they have been and are building, a road frightenly described by one their supporters... Henry Cabot Lodge... when he said a number of years ago, "There is no nation so dangerous as a nation fully armed, and bankrupt at home!"

Best Regards, John Thorne

COAST Pledge Walk Saturday
October 19,1991
State Capital Flagpole

Show your compassion for people in your community, men women, and children affected by HIV and AIDS, by participating in Western Washington Walks Against AIDS.

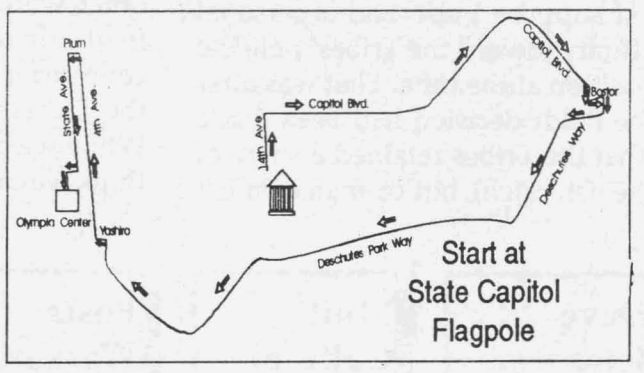
Without a cure or effective treatment, education is our only weapon against AIDS. And you can help to raise awareness of the problem by walking and gathering pledges or pledging or donating to COAST.

COAST (Columbia-Olympic AIDS Services Task Force) is a regional non-profit AIDS service organization with two major goals: 1) to raise funds locally to help meet the needs of persons affected by HIV disease in local communities; and 2) to provide support for local HIV/AIDS prevention, education and intervention programs.

For your registration packet write to COAST 216 10th Ave. SE #B Olympia WA 98502

If you have any questions, please contact COAST at (206) 352-3664 or your local health department AIDS Program Coordinator.

Olympia 10K
State Capitol Flagpole
Registration: 8:30 Walk: 9:00



See you at the Walk!

FIST Classes Offered

Dear Editors,

I thoroughly enjoyed Kathy Dockins's article "Women Building Strength", about a recent self-defense class she attended taught by FIST. She really captured the main emphasis of FIST's classes: that self-defense skills are not just the fighting skills useful in a physical assault, but also includes believing you are worth defending, confidence building, intuition, verbal skills, and problem solving strategy that are useful in situations when a women may feel uncomfortable, vulnerable, not listened to, or taken advantage of. She also described well the role of making choices in self-defense and how every woman must choose the self-defense options appropriate for her situations. Like Kathy said, "Whatever choice you make, it's the right one."

FIST offers classes regularly to the women in the general public at The Evergreen State College though Leisure Education and the Student Affairs Office. Other classes take place in various locations in the community. They range from 1 hour presentations for clubs and other groups, to 3 hour workshops, to classes that meet for 6 weeks. The best way to be up to date on classes being offered is to get on the mailing list for FIST's free quarterly newsletter. Call 438-0288 and leave your name and address.

People can also learn from FIST by reading its new book, Self-Defense: The Womanly Art of Self-Care, Intuition, and Choice. It is available at Four Seasons Books, at other bookstores by request, or by writing R&M Press, 625 Commerce St. #100, Tacoma, WA, 98402. It was just published this summer and contains assault prevention information as it is presented in FIST's classes.

Sincerely,
Debbie Leung

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Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the WIP Editorial Board.

Keep those letters and cards coming. Correspondence and articles are always welcome. If possible submit articles on disk (WordPerfect). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions; so for editing purposes please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works in Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

"Digno Y Justo":
El Paso Women Fight Back

Paul Ortiz

Women garment workers in El Paso Texas are waging a desperate but increasingly effective battle against exploitive employers. Led by the garment worker's organization La Mujer Obrera ("The Working Woman"). Mexican-American workers are striking to protest unpaid wages and unhealthy working conditions. The workers also want the right to vote for the union of their choice, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The ILGWU recently arrived in El Paso to help garment workers coordinate picket operations.

Sweatshop lords avoid paying wages by closing their factories when paying employees has become too much of a drain on profits. Shortly thereafter, the factory is reopened on the other side of town. When the old workers arrive to ask for their paychecks they are told that the new factory is "not responsible for the old shops' debts."

In June, 1990 Diana Fashions, a factory owing its workers several weeks worth of back wages closed down. Garment workers, led by Mujer Obrera director Cecelia Rodriquez fought back. The workers occupied "a new factory opened by the same owner who abandoned Diana's." The women then chained themselves to their sewing machines and demanded their back wages. This heroic action forced the Department of Labor to conduct an investigation discovering that 1000 garment workers were owed $87,000 in back wages.

Unfortunately, the Department only investigated half of the El Paso shops. Also it failed to persuade El Paso employers to pay the back wages. This sorry ineptitude pushed garment workers to strike in late April.

Since then, Mujer Obrera has brought unhealthy working conditions in the factories to the attention of the OSHA which in turn levied fines against "two factories on strike for not complying with health and safety regulations."

These include lack of ventilation, heat, working toilets, and blocked fire exits.

Mujer Obrera's efforts also lead the state legislature to pass a bill in May that for the first time makes non-payment of wages a crime in Texas. While this legislation is important, enforcement is another issue. Garment workers realize that a worker-controlled union is the best guarantee of political and economic justice.

La Mujer Obrera is a mutual aid organization consisting of about 900 garment workers. They run "food and bread cooperatives, youth outreaches," and a weekly health clinic. The group recently earned a block grant from the city council to create a "pilot project to show that the garment industry can provide jobs." Mujer Obrera hopes to save the major El Paso industry before President Bush's "Free Trade" pact devastates it and the community.

Mujer Obrera is waging a 24 hour community hunger strike that civic leaders are now participating in. Mujer Obrera's actions have persuaded several large retailers, including J.C. Penney's to cease doing business with the sweatshop owners until they deal justly with their workers.

These women have created an innovative labor-community coalition. "I used to cry and worry a lot about my situation, but basically I accepted it," said Tonya Flores, a member of Mujer Obrera. "Now I can defend myself against anybody."

Please support the garment workers by sending donations or letters of solidarity to La Mujer Obrera, PO Box 3975, El Paso, Texas 79923. Call Paul Ortiz at 866-8018 for the current list of retailers that still carry sweatshop clothing. Consumer actions (especially letter writing) have proved effective thus far.

Paul Ortiz is a member of the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace.

I used to cry and worry a lot about my situation, but basically I accepted it," said Tonya Flores, a member of Mujer Obrera. "Now I can defend myself against anybody."

Causes & Cures: Drugs

Causes & Cures: A National Teleconference on the Narcotics Epidemic will air November 9, 1991 from Riverside Church, New York City and 100+ Cities Nationwide.

Causes & Cures National Teleconference will address:

—The Causes of Drug Abuse and Drug Dealing

—Int'l Trafficking: Role of Foreign Policy & Covert Operations

—Source Countries: The Causes of Increased Production

—Money Laundering and Financial Institutions

—Criminal Justice and Law Enforcement

—Model Programs

The "War on Drugs"

—It's Ineffective.
Bush Administration's expenditure of over $200 billion in its war on drugs and its proclamation of victory, the crisis has worsened. In fact, the number of addicts has increased since 1989, according to the Senate Judiciary Committee. Since less than one third of the drug war budget is allocated for treatment and prevention, 90% of those who seek treatment are turned away due to underfunding.

—It's Unfair. While those who abuse drugs come from every walk of life, people of color suffer disproportionately from the crisis. An FBI study states that while blacks represent 12% of all illegal drug users, blacks are 48% of all those arrested on cocaine and heroin charges.

—It's Counterproductive. Although hundreds of millions of dollars have been poured into crop eradication campaigns, cocaine production has increased 28%, according to the Drug Enforcement Administration.

—It's Dangerously Hypocritical. Small-time street dealers are imprisoned while drug kingpins go free, simply because they have done favors for the federal government. Senate and independent reports prove that our own government—through the CIA and other agencies—has cooperated with drug traffickers in exchange for their support for covert activities and unpopular wars. It was this alliance between government officials and drug-running supporters of the Nicaraguan contras that opened the floodgates of cocaine into our country in the 1980's.

Small-time street dealers are imprisoned while drug kingpins go free, simply because they have done favors for the federal government. Senate and independent reports

—A New, Comprehensive Approach Is Desperately Needed. Spearheaded by a broad coalition from the faith community, the Causes & Cures Teleconference will unite tens of thousands of concerned citizens from religious institutions, social justice organizations, labor unions, health professionals and policy groups with 100+ cities across the country in a way that they have never been brought together before. Our goals are to weave together the effective work already being done on the drug crisis, to create lasting solutions, and to chart a national course of action. We have no choice but to join together.

The Administration's War on Drugs has defined the drug crisis as a law enforcement issue, focusing on building more prisons and hiring more prosecutors. Clearly this approach has failed. What is needed is an approach that addresses the deeper, systemic issues that fuel the drug crisis.

Help organize a local conference. Olympia contact persons: Maureen Sheimo at 754-7711 ext. 247 and Dave Groves at 943-6235.

Involve your local church, synagogue or organization. Write for ___brochures. Affiliation:_____.

Enclose a contribution of $_____. Contact local organizers listed above and/or send to: **Causes & Cures** c/o Christic Institute
1324 North Capitol St. NW
Washington D.C., 20002
(202) 797-8106.

Article Submission Deadline for the November issue of Works In Progress is October 16th. Also on that date there will be an editorial meeting at SPEECH, 218 4th at 7pm if you would like to come.Get involved and/or send money. Call 956-9123

THE 6TH ANNUAL WOMEN'S HALLOWEEN DANCE will be held on Saturday, October 26th, at the Olympia Ballroom (above the Urban Onion restaurant on Legion and Washington Sts) From 8:30 pm until midnight, this ghoulishly fun night will feature a costume contest, scary picture taking, refreshments, and dance music played by local women DJ's. No smoking, drug/alcohol-free and wheelchair accessible. This event is co-sponsored by the Olympia AIDS Task Force and The Lesbian Fun Society. Admission: $5.00 (For work exchange please call 786-1131 before 10/24).

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Hours: 7-8 Weekdays, 8-8 Weekends, 786-1725

KAOS
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Public Radio for the Communities of Southern Puget Sound

"Think Globally, Retreat Locally"?

Alexander Cockburn

"Think globally, retreat locally," is a joke slogan I've heard quite a bit up and down the West Coast these past few weeks. It's a line that nicely captures the somewhat ironic pessimism that has seized many radicals three years into the Bush administration, 11 years into the Reagan-Bush era and nearly a quarter of a century from the moment the radical wave peaked in the late '60s.

As that wave began to recede in the '70s and the anti-war movement all too hastily rolled up their maps of Indo-China, "act locally" was the residue. As the right-wing, corporate counter-attack gathered momentum in the middle '70s, the horizons of the left began to shrink to the frontiers of municipalities, county boards of education, city councils and urban water districts.

Radicals began to honeycomb local regulatory and oversight bodies. Sometimes they became indistinguishable from the overseers they replaced, sometimes they remained principled, often indispensable in curbing local police forces, restraining local developers, harassing the Haves in the interests of the Have Nots. But the horizons shrank all the same. Even the broad levels of opposition to the contra war in Nicaragua were most rigorously expressed in movements like Neighbor to Neighbor (a movement started in North Carolina) or in hundreds of Sister City projects.

The momentum in national organizing passed to various segments of the women's movement, to human rights and good citizen bodies like Amnesty International or Common Cause, to environmental organizations like Greenpeace and to consumer movements like those inspired by Ralph Nader, now being drafted for president by a committee taking out advertisements across the country. (I hope he runs.)

Among the younger cohorts of the American left this has led to a narrowing of political and historical focus. At a meeting of mostly Californian local organizers not long ago, I was asked to link local activity with a larger, international left agenda. This being the week during which Lenin statues were being hauled off to the knacker's yard, I said that people should not entirely discount the achievements of "real existing socialism." By way of illustration I pointed out that when the Chinese Communists came to power in 1949 the average life expectancy in China was around 40 years, and as of 1988 was around 70.

A young woman replied that she couldn't see the point of these probably questionable statistics about life expectancy in China nor understand "what help they would be in my organizing." (This remark, I should point out, was made in Los Angeles, where first-year infant mortality statistics have been rising among blacks and Hispanics throughout the Reagan-Bush years, and where such figures have instant meaning among poor people, notably blacks, whose life expectancies trail by several years their white counterparts.)

On the national level the left has to argue a case it has virtually let go by default for twenty years: the social control of investment, the "socialization" of the market

But this laconic indifference to Chinese mortality figures coexists with a very practical internationalism. Left organizers up and down California and indeed across the United States deal with the consequences of the international division of labor every day of their lives, whether it be a runaway shop moving from $6-an-hour work in El Norte to $6-a-day jobs in *maquiladoras* on the Mexican border, or in the form of a Guatemalan family fleeing the death squads because someone had fingered a family member as a labor organizer.

It's a matter of connecting up energetic local militancy with a sense of left history and national and international left perspective. I remember Studs Terkel once telling me about the lack of a sense of history among some young folk he'd been talking to. The subject had been the working day. "The working day you folks take for granted, a century ago people were giving their lives for that," he'd growled at unknowing youth.

After the funeral orations for communism, we need a new, optimistic vision for the left, not just for the future but for our past. Arguments can be made for a view of this century as having been one of enormous advance for the program of the left: democratic and human rights, the social safety net, wages and conditions of work, education, health care, the rights of women and of ethnic and other minorities, the defeat of fascism and the end of colonialism... all these have been gains fought for and won by the left. Is the defeat of Soviet-style Communism not more than a mere blip in these bigger trends?

The undoubted victories listed above were mostly extorted from capital in the teeth of the latter's vehement opposition, but in the end they were also victories for rational capitalists. In other words the function of the left has often been to save capital from itself and its inherently base tendencies. A better educated work force was a more efficient work force; the admission of women into the work force meant a widening and cheapening of the labor pool; a better paid work force was one that could buy more commodities. Whose cause was being advanced? The spreading of a social safety net meant a measure of security for workers, but also the subsidizing of capitalists' low wages by government. By the middle '50s the white North American working class had won enormous gains, in terms of housing, education, work time, pensions, union representation and political clout. But productivity agreements of the late '40s and '50s came at the expense of input by labor into decision-making or workplace democracy. The tremendous victories of the civil rights movement must similarly be set within a perspective of capitalist rationality. On the one hand there was the fact of black people being able to go to the polls without being murdered; on the other, their entry into the industrial work force again meant a widening of the labor pool and a cheapening of the cost of labor. Whose was the victory?

Time and again there has been a fork in the road. One path has led down to barbarism in the form of fascism, the rule of capital without let or hindrance, ferocious colonial exploitation; the other path led up toward the mitigation of injustice, inequality and oppression. Time and again labor has forced capital toward that second path and then heard capital slap itself on the back for having adopted the course of virtue.

By the late '60s it looked as though the momentum of labor and of progressive ideas against capital was solidly in the ascendant. Vietnamese resistance overseas went hand in hand with apparent ideological weakness on the part of capital at home. One or other of the newsweeklies ran a cover at that time on William Buckley, "the last conservative?" But within five years capital was staking out a new road to the lower depths, and—amid a crisis in profitability—a violent assault on the gains of the postwar period.

Capital in this renewed guise was infinitely more sophisticated than in its earlier assaults. Since 1973, real wages in the U.S. have been going down; the working day has been steadily lengthening; social safety nets have been torn; inner city funding eroded; public education hollowed out by attrition in federal and state funding. The conditions of production have grown steadily more wretched, as capital's regulators nullify workplace standards. Above all, the cost of labor has been reduced as capital has whipsawed one sector against another, reducing the entire labor force toward a mobile, part-time, non-unionized entity. To take one index: job classifications in one GM-Japanese auto plant have sunk from 16 to 3.

This has been paralleled by a far greater flexibility and versatility of capital in its international motions than in previous epochs, even as extraction from the Third World continues at a delirious pace, with Africa and Latin America exporting capital to the First World, while living standards in those continents plunge downward.

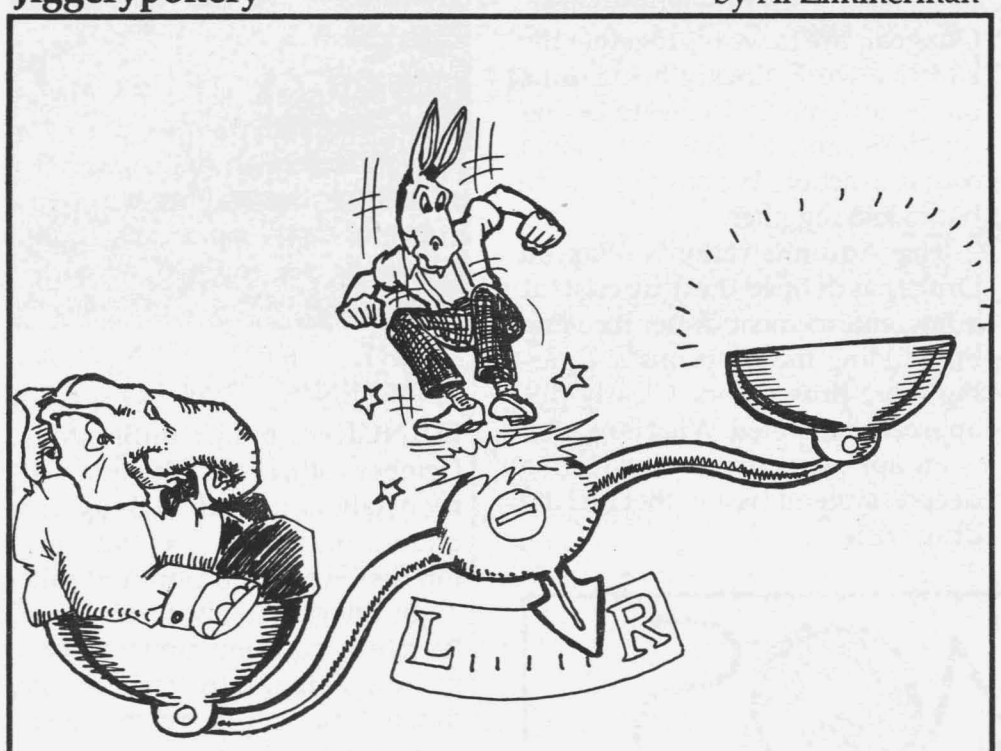
At this fork in the road the path downward is being worn into a superhighway. The left is entirely on the defensive, either split into discrete interest groups or defending minimal liberal programs that 25 years ago it was deriding as the bookends of Keynesian capitalism. A left movement has to offer more than this: it has to think on a local but also on a national and global scale. On the national level the left has to argue a case it has virtually let go by default for twenty years: the social control of investment, the "socialization" of the market, in which democratic investment planning represents the popular will, as against the corporate drive for profitability.

As James O'Connor, editor of *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*, recently remarked, "global capitalist development since World War 11 would have been impossible without deforestation, air and water pollution, pollution of the atmosphere... and the other ecological disasters...If global capital had bothered to reproduce or restore the conditions of production as these presented themselves at the end of the post-World War 11 reconstruction period, world GNP rates probably would have been only a fraction of recorded rates."

Further defining eco-socialism O'Connor says, "At the level of interests, all social movements, insofar as we regard them as fighting for something material (including the materiality of the body), implicitly raise the same demand, or 'secretly' have the same political goal—to make the state more responsive... The point is to put democratic content into the democratic forms or democratic procedures of the bourgeois liberal state... Nor is the point to reform liberal democracy, to make it work better, because reform in this sense means merely to make democratic procedures or forms work better in their own terms, without attacking the undemocratic or laissez-faire content of the liberal state... I add quickly that by 'state' I also mean international state bodies such as the IMF."

Regina Costa pays for the right to reprint this column monthly.

Jiggerypokery by Al Zimmerman



Futile attempts to bring balance to the American Political Debate by by working hard in the center.

Rainbow Endorses Four Ballot Measures, Opposes One

Tom Freeman

Based on pro/con presentations made at our September 14 monthly meeting, the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition has endorsed voting "yes" on four ballot measures [Referendum 42, Initiative 119, Initiative 120, and Initiative 553] and voting "no" on one [Initiative 559]. Referendum 42 would add a tax of 20 cents per phone number to fund an "Enhanced 911" system state-wide. Enhanced 911 is an emergency telephone communication system for rapidly accessing the appropriate emergency answering point, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, for the location from which you are calling. Enhanced 911 provides the caller's name address and telephone number to the area communications center that serves the caller's location, even if the caller is unable to relay that basic information. While Thurston County has Enhanced 911 already, hundreds of existing area-specific seven-digit emergency numbers are still required throughout the state. These are numbers that have to be looked up during an emergency wasting valuable time. Additionally, if a burglar is in the home and you don't want them to hear you, Enhanced 911 displays your address to an emergency response network who will respond assuming an emergency even when you don't say a word. Rural counties do not have the population bases to get 911 on their own. Enhanced 911 is good public safety policy. Vote "yes" on Referendum 42. Initiative 119 is the Death with Dignity measure which will strengthen Washington's Living Will law. It defines irreversible coma and persistent vegetative state as terminal illness, makes it clearly legal to have artificial nutrition and hydration tubes removed from terminal patients, and permits aid-in-dying for terminal patients on a completely voluntary basis. The terminally ill deserve the right to choose when to end treatment and end suffering and we heartily support a "Yes" vote on Initiative 119. A person would have to be in a coma to not know that the infamous Roe vs. Wade decision which legalized abortion nationally in 1973 is under attack and likely to be reversed by a conservatively packed Supreme Court. In anticipation of this action, Washington voters are being asked to make Roe vs. Wade the law of Washington State by voting yes on Initiative 120. The Rainbow absolutely supports the right for women to control of their own bodies, including reproductive processes. We believe that the issue is access to quality health-care, safe treatment and appropriate financial support for those women in need. Washington voters led the way by voting pro-choice before Roe vs. Wade. Let's do it again and vote "Yes" on Initiative 120! One of the more talked about issues on the ballot is Initiative 553 which will limit Washington state legislators to a total of 10 consecutive years of public service in the state legislature. State senate members would be limited to two four-year terms; State representatives to three two-year terms. The Governor and Lieutenant Governor would be limited to two four-year terms. Washington's U.S. Senators and Representatives would be limited to a total of 12 consecutive years in the U.S. Congress - two six-year terms for Senators and three two-year terms for Representatives. Although it is not clear what impact this measure will have on Washington State unless the entire U.S. Congress goes to a non-seniority term limitation system, the Rainbow Coalition acknowledges that the system is certainly not working well in its current configuration and we therefore are willing to give a nod to Initiative 553. More than half the states are currently working on term limitation measures and we believe that once half the Congress is under that system, they will enact term limitation into law for the rest of the nation. Incumbency assures cozy relationships between career politicians, lobbyists, mass-media and powerful special interests. More opportunities to participate in government can be had with term limitations. We recommend a "yes" vote on Initiative 553. Finally, Initiative 559 would roll-back taxes for property owners who bought their property before 1985. While we are sympathetic to the woes of high property taxes, the Initiative unwisely creates two levels of property taxpayers and it will most assuredly benefit mostly the wealthier neighborhoods and shift the tax burdens to those areas where property values haven't risen as fast. The state budget is already in crisis! Vote "No!" on Initiative 559. That's it from the Rainbow's end. See you at the polls Tuesday, November 5 from 7 a.m. - 8 p.m. Don't count yourself out. Express your preferences on election day.

by Tom Freeman, Co-Coordinator of The Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

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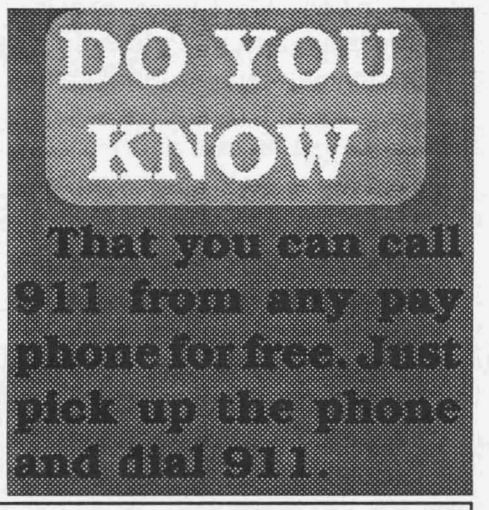

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And don't forget to exercise your rights by voting on election day, Tuesday, November 5th.

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Mary Burbage, President

I AGREE WITH THE THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

A grassroots organization that works for the people the two political parties frequently ignore: peace activists, people of color, the differently-abled, union members, women, environmentalists, gays and lesbians, the homeless, the working poor, and other community people.

An organization that supports and encourages progressive electoral candidates. An organization that networks and works with others who have the same goals.

Join the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition and get involved.

Yes, I'm interested in joining the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition
❑ Enclosed is: $25; $10 low-income.
❑ Yes, I want to be involved in Rainbow activities. Give me a call.

(name)_____

(address)_____

(city)_____ (state)_____ (zip)_____

(work phone)_____ (home phone)_____

(issues of interest):_____

Send to: Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, P.O. Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507. For information call 943-1810 or 456-4773.

Siouxon Roadless Area Under Assault

Dan Ekblaw

The mightiest temperate forest on earth once blanketed the area now known as southwestern Washington state. A century of industrial exploitation has, for the most part, reduced this region to a monoculture of single-aged Douglas-Fir clearcuts. Few places have managed to escape the chainsaw thus far - the largest and most imminently threatened of these is the Siouxon (pronounced SOO-sahn) roadless area.

The Siouxon Fire of 1902 burned about 40,000 acres, killing most of the ancient forest in the area. Ironically, this fire also spared the area from being roaded and logged, since little merchantable timber could be extracted. The Siouxon roadless area is now one of the more ecologically healthy places in southwestern Washington, supporting a diverse second-growth native forest that elk, mountain lions, black bears, eagles, rainbow trout, and other less charismatic but equally important creatures. Younger native forests such as this are just as rare and endangered as the ancient forests that are receiving so much attention.

The Siouxon roadless area is especially threatened. The Washington State Department of Natural Resources is in the process of gutting that portion of the area under its administration. The Forest Service's portion of the roadless area, the upper Siouxon valley, is scheduled for liquidation beginning in 1993. These plans will be carried out under the auspices of New Perspectives ("a kinder, gentler holocaust.")

Realistically, there is very little hope of stopping the Department of Natural Resources at this point. They are under mandate to utilize their lands for maximum economic return, and their assault upon this area is already well under way. The Forest Service, however, might still be stopped from destroying their 12,590 acres of this roadless area. Under New Perspectives, this agency is supposed to allow a greater degree of public involvement in their process, thus lending the appearance of public approval to their final solution for our last unprotected roadless areas. They need to hear what biocentrists and deep ecologists have to say about their plans.

Realistically, there is very little hope of stopping the Department of Natural Resources at this point.

One possible alternative to the Forest Service's planned destruction of this area would be to establish a "Siouxon - Trapper Creek Wilderness Recovery Area." Simply by closing approximately two miles of forest road #58 (as well as some low-grade feeder roads and cherrystem roads), the Siouxon roadless area could be reunited with the Trapper Creek Wilderness, the Sister Rocks Research natural Area, and the Bourbon Creek roadless area. This last area is of particular interest, since the Forest Service cynically drew the Trapper Creek Wilderness boundary to exclude the Bourbon Creed roadless area, which contains valuable old-growth forest (excellent spotted owl habitat) that the Forest Service wants to clerarcut. All four of these areas should be protected as a single roadless unit.

What you can do:

Contact these public officials and tell them how you would like the Siouxon area to be managed.

Mr. Ted Stubblefield, Supervisor
Gifford Pinchot National Forest
PO Box 8944
Vancouver, WA 98668-8944
(206) 695-7500

Mr. Geof Wilson, District Ranger
Wind River Ranger District
Carson, WA 98610
(206) 427-5645

Senator Slade Gorton
Senator Brock Adams
c/o Senate Office Building
Washington DC 20510

Representative Jolene Unsoeld
Representative Sid Morrison
Representative Norm Dicks
c/o House office Building
Washington DC 20515

State Senator Dean Sutherland
405 John A. Cherberg Building
Olympia, WA 98504

More importantly, visit the Siouxon roadless area and environs. It lies northeast of the towns of Chelatchie and Amboy, Washington (consult a map of the Gifford Pinchot National Forest.) Get to know this special, powerful place. Be sure to bring your tool kit in case you need to make any "emergency repairs."

Cultural Genocide: New Age Desecration

Sarah Light

"Our spirituality is not for sale." Andy Smith, a Cherokee woman.

Racism has many faces. A particularly insidious one is that of the "exotic other." This form of racism, as practiced by the white new-age movement, portrays indigenous peoples as spiritual gurus. Native people are expected to provide one-size-fits-all miracle "Indian religion" for public consumption. Their cultures are viewed as romantic, ethnic environments for the white imagination to dream in.

While the white new-agers roam, they are continuing a pattern of genocide. We can kill people for following their spiritual traditions, or we can kill them by saying that we are them - we speak for them, market them, consume them. The result is the same.

As a survivor of a 10-year journey in the new-age movement, I am particularly sensitive to this form of racism. I observed many occasions of white people ripping off native cultures. Participants in this abuse claimed past lives as Indians, or declared a gift for channeling disincarnate "Indian spirits." Books were written, lectures given, sweatlodges constructed. Prestige was gained, and money was certainly made.

Native people are expected to provide one-size-fits-all miracle "Indian religion" for public consumption.

No one ever spoke of broken treaties. And no one mentioned that the average life expectancy for Native American people is 47 years.

I have chosen to look for strength and inspiration from my own ancestors in Ireland and Scotland. There I find earth based spiritual traditions rich in community. And I have discovered that even these traditions are being trampled on. Sacred sites are vandalized and commercialized. New-age tourists bury crystals, perform ceremonies, and are arrogantly insensitive to the local people.

If we truly want to build bridges, we need to stop trivializing, interpreting, and stealing from indigenous peoples. Often the best way to show respect for a culture is to LEAVE IT ALONE.

Sarah has written for WIP in the past on an issue on denied student rights at South Puget Sound.

VETERANS FOR PEACE

We, having dutifully served our nation, do hereby affirm our greater responsibility to serve the cause of world peace.

To this end we will work, with others:

(a) Toward increasing public awareness of the costs of war;

(b) To restrain our government from intervening, overtly and covert, in the internal affairs of other nations;

(c) To end the arms race and to reduce and eventually eliminate nuclear weapons;

(d) to **ABOLISH WAR** as an instrument of international policy.

To achieve these goals, members of **Veterans For Peace** pledge to use nonviolent means and to maintain an organization that is both democratic and open with the understanding that all members are trusted to act in the best interests of the group for the larger purpose of world peace.

We urge all veterans who share this vision to join us.

Veterans For Peace, Inc.
National Headquarters:
PO Box 3881
Portland, Maine 04104
(207) 797-2770

No Future For The Workplace

Bob Black

The best future for the workplace, as for the battlefield, is none at all. With belated notice taken of a crisis in the workplace, the consultants surge forth with faddish reforms whose common denominator is that they excite little interest in the workplace itself. Done to—not won by—the workers, they are very much business as usual for business. They may raise productivity temporarily till the novelty wears off, but tinkering with the who, what, when and where of work doesn't touch the source of the malaise: why work?

Changing the place of work to the home is like emigrating from Romania to Ethiopia in search of a better life. Flextime is for professionals who, as the office joke goes, can work any sixty hours a week they like. It is not for the service sector where the greatest numbers toil; it will not do for fry cooks to flex their prerogatives at the lunch hour nor bus drivers at rush hour. Job enrichment is part pep rally, part painkiller—uplift and aspirin. Even workers' control, which most American managers find unthinkable, is only self-managed servitude, like letting prisoners elect their own guards. For Western employers as for outgoing Eastern European dictators, *glasnost* and *perestroika* are too little and too late. Measures that would have been applauded by 19th century socialist and anarchist militants (indeed, that's whom they were cribbed from by the consultants) at best meet now with sullen indifference, and at worst are taken as signs of weakness. Especially for American bosses, relatively backward in management style as in other ways, concessions would only arouse expectations they cannot fulfill and yet remain in charge. The democracy movements world-wide have swept away the small fry. The only enemy is the common enemy. The workplace is the last bastion of authoritarian coercion. Disenchantment with work runs as deeply here as disenchantment with Communism in the East. Indeed many were not all that enchanted to begin with. Why did they submit? Why do we? We have no choice.

There is far more existence of a revolt against work than there had been of a revolt against Communism. Were it other wise, there would be no market for tranquilizers like job redesign or job enrichment. The worker at work, as to a tragic extent off the job, is passive-aggressive. Not for him the collective solidarity heroics of labor's past. But absenteeism, job-jumping, theft of goods and services, self-sedation with drink or drugs, and effort so perfunctory it may cross the line to count as sabotage—these are how the little fish emulate the big fish who market junk bonds and loot S & L's. What if there was a general strike—and it proved permanent because it made no demands, it was *already the* satisfaction of all demands? There was a time the unions could have thwarted anything like that, but they don't count anymore.

The future belongs to the zero-work movement, should one well up, unless its object is impossible because work is inevitable. Do not even the consultants and the techno-futurologists at their most fantastic take work for granted? Indeed they do, which is reason enough to be skeptical. They never yet foresaw the future that came to pass. They prophesied moving sidewalks and single-family air-cars, not computers and recombinant DNA. Their American Century was Japanese before it was half over. Futurologists are always wrong because they are only extrapolators, the limit of their vision is more of the same — although history (the record of previous futures) is replete with discontinuities, with surprises like Eastern Europe. Attend to the utopians instead. Since they believe life could be different, what they say just might be true.

"Work," referring to what workers do, should not be confused with exertion; play can be more strenuous than work. Work is compulsory production, something done for some other reason than the satisfaction of doing it. That other reason might be violence (slavery), dearth (unemployment), or an internalized compulsion (the Calvinist's "calling," the Buddhist's "right livelihood," the Syndicalist's duty to Serve the People). Unlike the play-impulse, none of these motives maximizes our productive potential; work is not very productive although output is its only justification. Enter the consultants with their toys.

Although it does not have to be, play can be productive, so forced labor may not be necessary. When we work we produce without pleasure so as to consume without creating—containers drained and filled, drained and filled, like the locks of a canal. Job enrichment? The phrase implies a prior condition of job impoverishment which debunks the myth of work as a source of wealth. Work devalues life by appropriating something so priceless it cannot be bought back no matter how high the GNP is.

Life enrichment, on the other hand, consists of the suppression of many jobs and the recreation, in every sense, of the others as activities intrinsically enjoyable—if not to everyone for any length of time, then for some people, at some times, in some circumstances. Work standardizes people as it does products, but since people by nature strive to produce themselves, work wastes effort lost to conflict and stress. Play is pluralistic, bringing *into play* the full panoply of talents and passions submerged by work and anesthetized by leisure. The work-world frowns on job-jumping, the play-oriented or *ludic* life encourages hobby-hopping. As their work-conditioning wears off, more and more people will feel more and more aptitudes and appetites unfolding like the colorful wings of a brand new butterfly, and the ludic mode of production will be the more firmly consolidated.

You say you love your job? Fine. Keep doing it. Your sort will help to tide us over during the transition. We feel sorry for you, but we respect your choice as much as we suspect it's rooted in refusal to admit your present prodigious efforts made life (especially yours) no better, they only made life seem to go by faster. You were coping in your own way: you were trying to get it over with.

With the abolition of work the economy is, in effect, abolished. Complementing play as a mode a production is *the gift* as a system of distribution. Replacing today's Teamsters hauling freight will be Welcome Wagons visiting friends and bearing gifts. Why go to the trouble to buy and sell? Too much paperwork. Too much *work*

Although consultants are inept as reformists they might make magnificent revolutionaries. They rethink work, whereas workers want to think about anything but. But they must rethink their own jobs first. For them to transfer their loyalties to the workers might not be too difficult—it's expedient to join the winning side—but they will find it harder to acknowledge that in the end the experts on work are the workers who do it. Especially the workers who refuse to.

There is far more existence of a revolt against work than there had been of a revolt against Communism. Were it other wise, there would be no market for tranquilizers like job redesign or job enrichment.

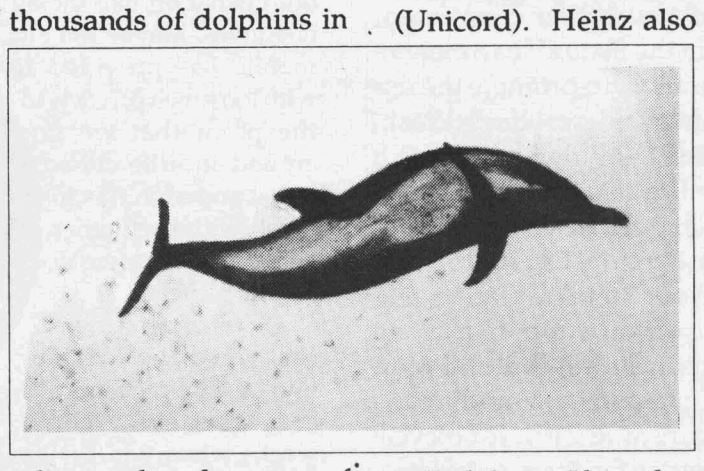
Bob Black is the author of The Abolition Of Work And Other Essays. *A different version of this article appeared in the* Wall Street Journal. *He is a non-practicing lawyer, a graduate student, author of the forementioned and co-editor of Zero-Work: The Anti-Work Anthology (Automedia, forthcoming).*

Still Not Dolphin Safe Tuna

Zachary D. Lyons

Make no mistake about it! Earth Island Institute (EII) has *not* ended its boycott of tuna products.

EII began its boycott of canned tuna in *1988*. The action was taken in an effort to stop the slaughter, intentional or otherwise, of hundreds of thousands of dolphins in the course of catching tuna. Yellowfin tuna often swim with dolphins. Some tuna boats take advantage of this easy method of spotting yellowfin and intentionally set their purse seine nets around the dolphins to catch it, usually drowning the dolphins in the process. Albacore tuna, and other species, are caught with drift or gill nets, which are indiscriminate killers of any life - fish, mammal, bird or reptile - that might possibly be caught in the tangle webbing of the nets. But other methods of catching tuna, methods that pose no threat to dolphins, have been used for years. H.J. Heinz owner of Starkist tuna, the largest tuna canner in the world, showed that it believes dolphin safe tuna catching methods make good business sense when it was the first company to sign the dolphin safe agreement with EII on April 12 of 1990.



Since then, three other tuna companies and one grocery store chain have been certified dolphin safe by EII. As of August 21, 1991 only the following brands of canned tuna have been certified dolphin safe by EII: Starkist (by Heinz"), Chicken of the Sea (by Van Camp Seafoods), Deep Sea Tongol (by Humble Whole Foods), Ocean Light (by Humble Whole Foods), Bumble Bee (Unicord). Heinz also produces a wide range of dolphin-safe pet foods.

Still many more name brands, food service brands, and all so-called "house" brands, of tuna products have not been certified dolphin safe by EII, and are therefore still being boycotted. They include: Three Diamonds (by Mitsubishi), Geisha (by Nozaki), Carnation (by Nestle), Celebrity and Empress, all "house" brands, SYSCO Corp food service tuna, Connell Food, Inc. (supplies Kraft food service).

Safeway, Inc. with more than 880 stores nationwide, became the first grocery store chain to sign a dolphin safe agreement with EII on April 30, 1991.

This was edited down, but for the complete article write the Boycott Monthly, *which is written by Zachary D. Lyons and published by the Center for Economic Democracy, at PO Box 64, Olympia, WA 98507.*

Think Globally, Act Locally

What you can do.

Automobile industry, teamsters, and others are eager to shape transportation policy. Against these well-healed groups, our most effective weapon is one that often works in Washington: a grassroots barrage. Even if you've never written to your House member, and never write again, do it this time. The effects will last into the next century.

"This is the type of issue where you can make a difference. There are a lot of members who aren't going to take interest unless there's encouragement from home," said one congressional aide. "But even a little encouragement can raise it on the radar screen. Four or five letters in our office make it an issue. Fifty letters make it a big issue."

The Senate has passed the "Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991. The house is considering the "Intermodal Surface Transportation Infrastructure Act of 1991" (H.R.2950)

Neither bill incorporates "the 3% solution" (H.R. 2101 introduced by Rep. Joe Kennedy, that would require states to spend 3% of their federal-aid funds on bicycle and pedestrian facilities). The House bill would require states and metropolitan planning organizations to include bicycle and pedestrian plan elements in their Transportation Improvement Programs. In addition, H.R. 2950 makes bicycle and pedestrian projects eligible for the expenditure of federal funds. It also requires every state to fund a bicycle and pedestrian coordinator position in the State Department of Transportation, to promote the use of bicycling and walking (Washington State DOT already has such a position).

Write (c/o House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515), call, or visit your Representative. Let them know you support existing provisions in the bill--but still want to see a guarantee of funding, as promised by H.R. 2101, for bicycle and pedestrian facilities. Ask House members to add bicycle and pedestrian safety programs to highway safety programs in which all states must participate. Explain why you think it's important. For information about the bill's progress, called the Bicycle Federation of America at (202) 332-6986.

For a copy of "A Bicyclist's Guide to the Surface Transportation Assistance Act", send a self-addressed stamped envelope to the Bicycle Federation, 1818 R St. NW, Washington, DC 20009.

The House will be voting on the bill soon. Call or write your Congressperson today.

Adapted from Nelson Pena's Bike Advocate column in Bicycling magazine, and News Releases by Andy Clarke of the Bicycle Federation of America.

(Bicycle, continued)

ibility, power. You can move wherever you want, whenever you want. It' privacy. It's all those things, and those are very, very attractive, but the automobile is also what economists call a "positional good", which means it's great only to the extent that just a few people have it, and more and more people require the good it gives fewer returns. Maybe the automobile is the best example of that. In previous decades in this country, when there weren't so many automobiles, and people weren't so dependent on the car, it really did represent freedom. You really could get wherever you wanted. It was enormously convenient. But now we have more than half as many cars as people in this country. It's no longer that free. You get caught in traffic, the air is so polluted that we can't continue to let automobile use grow like it's growing. I think if we balance out our transportation system so that people do have real valid choices that include not only the automobile, but also public transport and cycling and walking, then we'll be able to offer people throughout the whole system the same things that automobiles represents, but can no longer deliver.

It's certainly a very freeing feeling to know that you can walk to work, or school. Certainly for suburban mothers it represents freedom from "Chauffeur Slavery" to have their kids be able to ride through safe streets and get where they need to go on their bikes.

It's certainly a very freeing feeling to know that you can walk to work, or school. Certainly for suburban mothers it represents freedom from "Chauffeur Slavery" to have their kids be able to ride through safe streets and get where they need to go on their bikes.

Automobiles represent a speed that we will probably never be able to achieve with bicycles, but one can certainly far exceed it with public transport. I think that the bicycle also gives us privacy without alienation like the automobile gives. Maybe the automobile has provided us with too much privacy, to the point that we go around in little closed units, and aren't as in touch with each other as we are when we're on our bicycles.

Q: When you buy a car, you have to "plug into" the petrochemical energy grid every couple of weeks when you get gas. After you buy a bike, you have an extreme degree of autonomy. I wonder if that doesn't politically figure into some of the transportation choices that are made.

A: I think there's no question that the oil companies are really driving transportation policy, in this country far more than people's actual choices, and their actual preferences. A good example of this is the national energy policy, a much touted thing that was unveiled earlier this year. The Department of Energy Administration solicited a lot of input from the public activists, different groups; and they got a lot of feedback telling them "let's become less dependent on oil, and let's conserve, lets find alternatives, let's support mass transit, etc". And what we were given was a policy that reflected oil interests much more than those things.

I think it's no coincidence that Bush is an oil man. I think it's safe to say that that has an influence on the thinking.

Q: Where I work, at the Department of Transportation, I think I see a big shift in people's thinking that's not really reflected in policy. People go to Europe on vacation, and come back enthused about the transit system, and they say, "I sure wish we had something like that here."

A: As if it's impossible.

Q: Right. Then they go back to work, designing roads, or whatever. I don't expect much positive change in policy to come from the top. So how do we motivate the public at large to make different choices? If thousands of people are riding bicycles in a community, then they can't be ignored.

A: Right. I think maybe the biggest thing is to present people with an alternative picture. Really paint the picture vividly of how it could be. If you've grown up in the U.S., a child in the 50s suburbs, you know, in an Ozzie and Harriet type of family, you've always been dependent on the automobile your entire life, you've always lived in the type of auto dependent sprawled communities that we have, you don't really know what it's like to bike to work, to walk over to school, or have your community be a tightly knit pedestrian scaled place that is welcoming to people, and not necessarily cars. That's something that's really hard to get across to people. Those of us who are activists from various different angles of the problem have actually failed to convey that image to them, and the average American just doesn't know how it could be, and then when we start talking about alternatives to the automobile, all they think is "my access to my automobile will be restricted." They don't see - they can't envision how good the alternative could be. It has to be done in a very holistic way. You can't just slap a 50 cent gas tax on people without having an excellent public transit system that they can use if they can no longer afford to drive.

And you can't put in a million dollar subway line, or whatever, if you haven't achieved a high enough density in your land use that there are enough passengers to support it.

So there are all sorts of ways in which all of your different policies have to interact so you're not promoting an alternative with one hand and discouraging them to use it with the other, which is what we've done. There are certainly a lot of examples of really bold steps towards a new mass transit system, like in Miami, for example; people said this will be great, it'll be great against congestion, air pollution, etc. So they just put in the system. But they didn't do any of the other things, like restrict free parking, raise the gas tax, do public education to get people to even think about not driving to work, and the transit system didn't work, it had a very dismal ridership rate, and there are other examples all over the country, that suggest the policy approach was just not realistic. It was not comprehensive enough to really use the alternative and discourage them from using the automobile.

Q: When you met with employees at the Energy Office, they talked about the sustainable city concept. I find myself skeptical about it. There are a lot of ideas, but when I think about what that actually means, it would involve so many changes in the grids that are already laid out - the streets, buildings, neighborhoods, businesses. Their talking about a completely different way of laying out a city. When you need to bring up all of these things at the same time, how do you go about doing that?

A: One thing we can do is look at the models that we do have for comprehensive policies. We can look at other cities in the U.S. and in Canada that people can relate to more easily than the European examples. And there are some. They provide good models for us to work toward. One of them is Portland Oregon, which has used it's further growth to it's own advantage. Instead of letting it sprawl outward, they've drawn an invisible line around the city, called the Urban Growth Boundary; and they've said, "grow, grow, grow -" they've encouraged growth" but it has to occur within this line."

And that way, they've protected the surrounding farm land, they've protected their open space, but they've managed to intensify the activity within the city. I think most people are amazed at how much vacant and under-used land there is in the city; even in Portland, where they've been intensifying for a number of years now, there is still enough land within the city limits, with the existing developed area there is nine times more land than will be needed to accommodate the projected growth for the next twenty years...

So there really is vast potential to just use space that might be derelict space, that might hasn't been used for years; such as burned out warehouse buildings. You can also make existing neighborhoods denser by letting single family homes create accessory apartments within them, because a lot of people buy a suburban home when they have a large family, and when the kids are gone, the empty nesters are left with all

Join the Capital Bicycling Club, who are concerned with bicycling as recreational activity, as well as commuting. Contact them at P.O. Box 642 Olympia, WA 98507 (206) 956-3321

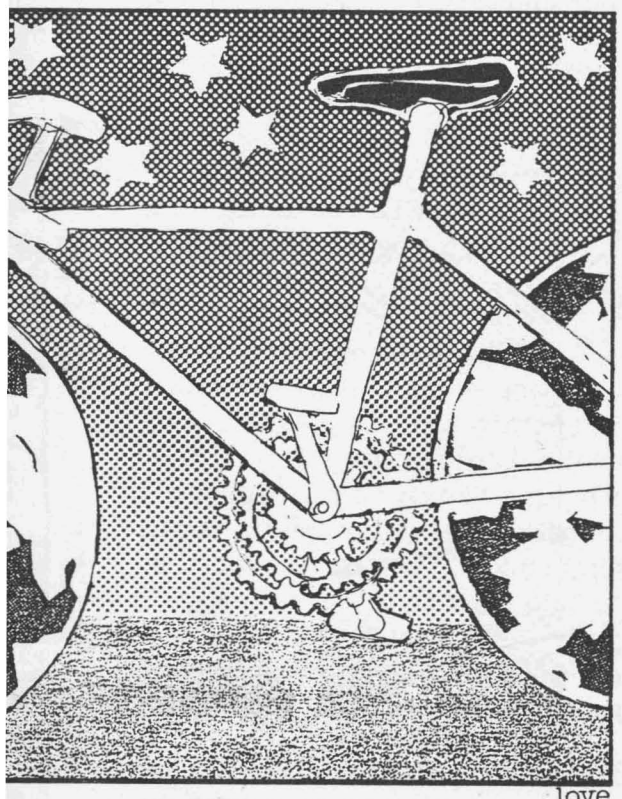
WA State Energy Office: I

David Thomson with the Washington S representatives of government and busine portation Demand Management (TDM) pr major sources of air pollution. Automobiles air pollution. TDM will help solve proble energy consumption by emphasizing alte TDM promotes mass transit, high occup biking, telecommuting and flex time. For m David Thomson, WSEO, at (206) 956-2132.

From Joan Pelley in "Toward 2010", a p ment 2010.

this extra space that they've not using. Zoning codes very often forbid people like this from creating an extra apartment in their home, and there's no real reason for that. There's no compelling logic against that you can really defend, outside of sort of exclusionary tendencies to try to keep the so-called "character" of the neighborhood in single family units that tend to exclude people who are lower income, who live in multi-family dwellings.

Anyway, getting back to the Portland example, they've managed to intensify the land use within the existing developed area of the city, but at the same time they've restricted the amount of the company's parking that can go with new development, and in that way they've kept the number of cars that are entering the downtown area the same since the 1970s, even in spite of all this growth. And they've managed to increase the number of jobs in the downtown by



love

something like 30,000, they've increased their regional share of the retail market, they've been hugely successful through their growth, but they've managed to get higher density housing, higher than it was before, it's still not very high. It's a very moderate and small city, and it has a very intimate feel to it.

But they've increased the housing density by mixing town houses and single family clustered homes, and Portland is really one of the most livable cities in the country. I think a lot of other cities can look to that example. They've done that at the same time as taking their transportation investments and putting them into the light rail line, instead of the Mt. Hood freeway, as some are proposing now. They have the flexibility to take those federal funds and put them into a light rail line instead, so Portland is a good comprehensive example of investment in public transit policies that foster mixed, diverse, close-knit communities within the city, and restrictions of automobile use. All of these things together have created a very strong mass transit ridership rate. Much stronger than other cities of Portland's size. 43% of commuters to downtown get there by mass transit, which is much higher than Buffalo, New York, Seattle, Denver. All of them are more in the 20s...20 to 29%. It's very impressive. and they're still growing. And they still have much more room to grow within that developed area instead of sprawling. (For dismaying developments since this interview was conducted, read the accompanying article, "Portland Planners Sell Out")

Q: In our area there are three separate municipalities. Lacey particularly seems to have uncontrolled growth. The City-County Charter probably would have had a profound effect on that. It was voted down two to one, even though most people around here probably want to limited growth. I think the City-County Charter went down because people just feared the loss of local autonomy. They thought this was going to create yet another governmental structure, farther removed from us.

A: Right. I think that's absolutely true.

Q: Maybe that was another case of not showing people, of not painting a good enough picture..

Uh huh...Luckily, I think there are people in our generation who grew up in small towns, where the development was similar to that in Europe to the extent that it didn't segregate the business districts from the housing. Everything was mingled, so we didn't have the vast distances between activities, and a lot of us grew up going everywhere on our bikes, and the family could walk to church. So at least people that still have that memory know what that life-style can be like. That to give that up in order to pursue a very automobile dominated community is to give up really what makes cities livable.

Q: I think that kind of childhood experience was a big influence on my outlook. We lived a few miles outside of a small town. When I got my first ten speed, it represented freedom to me, I suppose the way cars represent to most people.

A: Right.

Q: I never really felt that way about the car. What an automobile has always represented to me is an expense.

A: The interesting thing is a lot of people don't realize how much they spend. It's as if it's just an invisible expense. You don't write out one lump sum check at the beginning of every month, like you do with your rent. Gasoline, insurance, and parking, all those other expenses, both out of pocket and yearly, add up to a lot, and I don't think that people include that in their calculations, and they could certainly save a lot of money by using more mass transit. But you know, most people just don't like to dig in their pocket and buy that ticket for a dollar or whatever.

Q: I do have a car now, and I suppose that part of my thinking is after making payments on it, and paying insurance, I feel like, "well, I have it, I should use it."

A: Yeah. That's actually true. I think that's why I think it's probably a more effective approach to tax automobile use more than registration. I think that it's the countries that are using second automobile taxes and that kind of thing to try and discourage sales of automobiles. I think that's good, but it could lead to that type of attitude that a lot of people must have, like "I really need to use it as much as I can." I think it's far more effective to tax gasoline. And then to take those revenues, that's the really important thing, gasoline taxes really shouldn't be viewed as just a penalty, and it's unfortunate that's the way the environmental community has often presented it, is that we need to discourage people from driving by raising the gas tax, and it sounds like instead of a carrot and a stick, it's all stick. When in fact, if we do raise the gasoline tax substantially, it will create revenues with which we can create viable alternatives so there's carrot in it, too. "If you pay a little bit more for gas, you're going to have this great mass transit that's going to get people there more cheaply, and more quickly." So it's not just punitive.

Q: Is it true that voters in California actually initiated a raise in the gas tax?

A: It was put before the voters, and they voted "yes". And it was presented to them in such away that they realized that they were going to be taxed more for their gasoline, but that those revenues were going to be invested in some newer automobile facilities, and some mass transit. It wasn't all to mass transit, it was a portion for more highway spending, and more mass transit spending. And they went for it.

Q: What's the best way to go about insuring that gas tax revenue is used progressively? Are there groups a person should link up with?

A: Well, definitely at this point, the Surface Transportation Policy Project which is a national coalition of various state, local and national groups are really lobbying hard to get some forward thinking changes into our surface transportation assistance act - which is a thirty year legislation up for renewal this year. I think it's definitely important to get involved with them. And to write to your Congresspeople. It's the people in Congress who are terrified to raise the gas tax because they think it's political suicide. And it probably is until we get people educated to the point where they realize that the gasoline tax is not just a penalty, not just a way to make them miserable; they can benefit from an increase in the gas tax.

. . . until we get people educated to the point where they realize that the gasoline tax is not just a penalty, not just a way to make them miserable; they can benefit from an increase in the gas tax.

Marcia Lowe's World Watch paper 98. Alternatives to the Automobile: Transport for Livable Cities and 90. The Bicycle: Vehicle for a Small Planet, are available for $5.00 each, with price breaks for multiple copies. Annual subscriptions to the bimonthly World Watch magazine are $15.00. Write the Worldwatch Institute, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Washington, DC 20036-1904

Portland Planners Sell Out

Portland is about to compromise its progress with a proposed freeway called the "Western Bypass."

The 20-mile road would plough through scenic forest and farmland five miles outside the Urban Growth Boundary to link two outlying towns, Hillsboro to the northwest and Tualatin to the southwest. Supporters of the bypass claim it will ease traffic congestion. But controlled-growth advocates fear the freeway will open a huge swath of land to the very kind of sprawled development the city has so skillfully avoided. "This (bypass) flies in the face of the many other notable efforts that are now under way to manage growth responsibly," says Kevin Kasowski, director of the National Growth Management Leadership Project, a group of conservation and planning organizations from 17 states. Although the Urban Growth Boundary was expected to move gradually over time, the new road would cause a drastic, irreversible damage. Kasowski calls Portland's bypass proposal "an L.A. style answer" to transportation problems.

Unlike virtually all other cities in the United States, and many in other countries, Portland has shown it's possible to grow rapidly and at the same time reverse automobile-dependent sprawl. Portland has inspired forward-thinking urban planners and policy makers in California, Colorado, Florida, and Pennsylvania, and even some in Canada and the Netherlands.

A victory in Portland for the powerful forces that support an automobile orientation-real estate developers, the highway lobby, the state's department of transportation, and surrounding municipalities eager to expand their tax bases, hurts other cities' efforts to push for a more compact pattern of growth at home.

Marcia Lowe, in the Sept./Oct. issue of World Watch magazine

ffice: Promotes Mass Transit

ington State Energy Office is working with d business to design the state's new Trans- TDM) program. TDM will address the state's omobiles count for 43 percent of Washington's e problems of air pollution, congestion and zing alternatives to single-occupant vehicles gh occupancy vehicle lanes for carpooling, ne. For more information about TDM, contact 956-2132.

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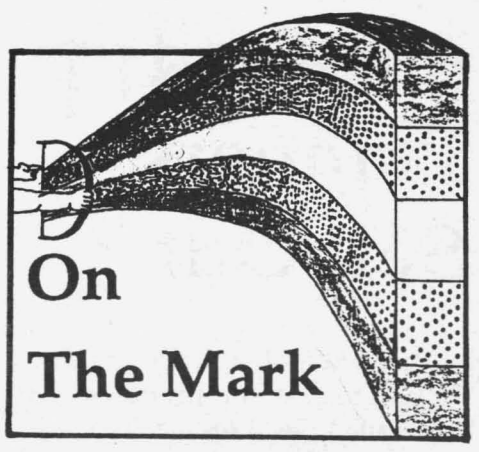

Looking Towards a Liberated Society

Dave Jette

Socialism (or communism, or whatever you want to call it) has failed! Capitalism has naturally emerged triumphant because, although imperfect, it is the only economic system able to provide for the welfare of the masses of people in industrialized society. At least that is what we are told continually, in explanation of the recent collapse of the "socialist" regimes of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. When the people there have finally had the opportunity to choose, they have unreservedly opted for market economic mechanisms and even for full-fledged capitalism! For some reason, they don't even want to retain the totalitarian state of "really existing socialism"!

It's a pretty picture which our propagandists provide us with! But it's not the only possible interpretation of the present state of the world, nor in particular of the recent monumental changes undergone throughout the Soviet empire. Rather a different view is given in **Looking Forward: Participatory Economics for the Twenty First Century**, by Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel. This book was published earlier this year by South End Press (P.O. Box 741, Monroe, ME 04951); it costs $10.00 + $3.00 for postage in paperback, but you should really send for their catalogue, which has oodles of cheap, highly relevant books. (It may be recalled that South End Press also published **Liberating Theory**, which we have quoted extensively in this column, and Albert and Hahnel happen also to be two of the authors of that book.)

In contrast to the self-congratulatory propaganda of our own ruling class, we are going to consider an alternate, liberated society of the future presented by **Looking Forward**. But first, let us see what Albert and Hahnel have to say about current economic systems.

Really Existing Capitalism

As **Looking Forward** points out, Capitalism institutionalizes inequality, promotes poverty, wages war, and denies dignity. It champions competition, eviscerates ecologies, and provides malls with miles of aisles - some for Moneybags, others for the average consumer. (p. 11)

This we should all know. But let's see what really existing capitalism looks like in its gross - and I do mean gross! - detail, lest we be lulled to sleep by the odes to the market sung by its apologists. The remainder of this section is taken from **Looking Forward** (p. 12).

> ***We live in the richest country in the world. One out of four children under six years of age are growing up poor. . . The mortality rate for black infants is twice that for whites***

We live in the richest country in the world. It is tied for 31st, with Albania, in infants with low birth weight and 211 children die each week from malnutrition and poor care. We live in the richest country in the world and so do over 31 million poor people, 3 million of whom are homeless and wander the streets eating garbage-can dinners and sleeping in alleys. Why this pain amidst riches? In part because the top one-half of 1 percent of U.S. citizens hold about one-third of all U.S. wealth.

We live in the richest country in the world. One out of four children under six years of age are growing up poor, including 40 percent of all Latino children and 50 percent of all Black children. Violent crime is up 37 percent in the past decade, one person in twenty suffers some sort of burglary, assault, rape, or murder each year, there are 250 reported rapes daily, one every 6 minutes, and a woman is beaten every 19 seconds. We live in the richest country in the world. The mortality rate for black infants is twice that for whites and there is 1 successful suicide every 20 minutes with over ten times that number of failed attempts. Why this crime and despair amidst riches? In part because in 1988 the average chief executive officer of a U.S. corporation earned as much as 93 factory workers or 72 teachers. We live in the richest country in the world but capitalist success triumphs only in boardrooms and mansions.

In countries outside our immediate borders where our influence is greatest, Central America, of the 850,000 children born yearly, 100,000 will die before the age of 5 from preventable disease and malnutrition because their resources are used to benefit our elites.

"Really Existing Socialism"

In response to the undeniable barbarism of capitalism, many social reformers have proposed and worked for alternative economic systems. Only one such system has actually existed for any length of time on a country-wide basis: "really existing socialism", as the apologists for this totalitarian monstrosity have termed it. As we have discussed in past columns with the aid of **Liberating Theory**, such societies have been ruled by their respective coordinator class, invoking for propaganda purposes the ideology of such socialists as Marx, Engels, and Lenin who were genuinely committed to human emancipation.

Let us see what **Looking Forward** has to say about "really existing socialism". The book first quotes (p. 1) Robert Heilbroner, described as a respected leftist professor at the New School of Social Research and author of numerous widely-read books on economics. According to Heilbroner, "less than 75 years after the contest between capitalism and socialism officially began, it is over: capitalism has won". And furthermore, "the tumultuous changes taking place in the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe have given us the clearest possible proof that capitalism organizes the material affairs of humankind more satisfactorily than socialism". The remainder of this section constitutes (in part) Albert and Hahnel's reply (pp. 3-4) to Heilbroner:

Heilbron's argument is that since Soviet, Chinese, and Eastern European leaders all called their countries "socialist", and since Henry Kissinger called them "socialist", and since Heilbroner and nearly all Western Marxists called them "socialist", these countries must have had economies embodying socialist principles. The crises of these economies therefore indicate that socialist values - the only alternative to capitalist values - are repudiated.

This would ring true of the label "socialist" applied, but Soviet, Chinese, and Eastern European leaders lied when they called their economies socialist. Henry Kissinger and the New York Times lied about this as well, and Western Marxists like Heilbroner have been either deceived, foolish, or also lying. Socialist values - assuming that by this we mean egalitarian and participatory values - have never characterized any of these countries. People who fled East Germany in the Winter of 1989 had never experienced egalitarianism, so how could they be rejecting it? Workers in Poland have never managed their own economic lives, so how can their bankrupt economy prove that if workers did manage their own lives everything would fall apart?

Whatever you decide to call the economies of the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe - we prefer the term "coordinatorism" - it is critical to realize that they are not now and never have been egalitarian and participatory. If we don't realize that, we cannot understand the roots of their current crisis or alternative possibilities. Worse yet, we may mistakenly conclude that the problems in the East stemmed from trying to be too egalitarian and participatory.

Participatory Economics

In opposition to these two failed economic systems, Albert and Hahnel are putting forward in **Looking Forward** a full-fledged alternative they term "participatory economics". They ask why workers should agree to be slaves in a basically authoritarian structure, and why communities shouldn't have a dominant voice in running the institutions that affect their lives. They agree with Noam Chomsky that the task for a modern industrial society is to achieve what is now technically realizable, namely, a society which is really based on free voluntary participation of people who produce and create, live their lives freely within institutions they control and with limited hierarchical structures, possibly none at all.

It is of course one thing to strongly desire a utopian society, and quite another to create one. Besides being actually feasible, such a society must exist first (at least roughly) in the human mind, so that we can consciously work toward achieving it. Marx and Engels advocated a society consisting of "the free association of the producers themselves", but they and their followers never gave a concrete picture of communist society, making it easy for coordinator classes to "adopt" Marxism and call their societies "really existing socialism". (The argument was, of course, that we can't know the future in such detail and in any case the overthrow of capitalism will lead inexorably to the ideal communist society through economic mechanisms independent of our will.)

But we do have to know where we are going, and a concrete vision - albeit approximate - of the liberated society of the future is vital if we are to work effectively toward its realization. Marxists have evidently failed in providing such a vision, but we are most fortunate in having it provided by Albert and Hahnel. (In-

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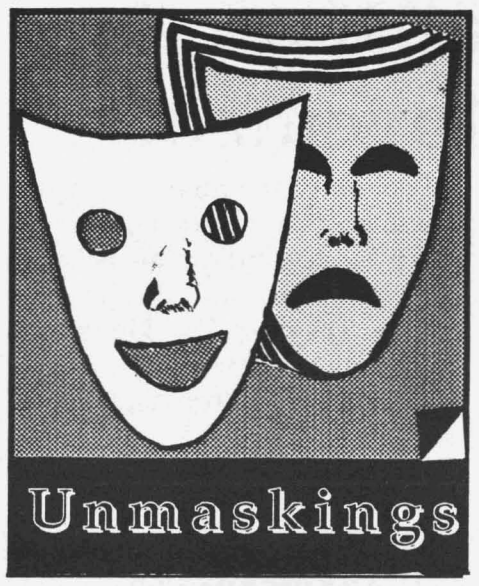
terestingly, Albert and Hahnel are anarchists who are vociferously anti-Marxist, at least in opposing Marxism as it has developed under the control of the coordinator class, but the society they seek to create is the same as Marx and Engels envisioned. In fact, anarchists and Marxists share the same goal, although they often have major differences in strategy for achieving that goal.)

In **Looking Forward**, Albert and Hahnel describe how work could be organized efficiently and productively without hierarchy; how consumption could be fulfilling and also equitable; and how participatory planning could promote solidarity and foster self-management while still "getting the job done". Their vision, integrally employing the use of personal computers for individual communication and evaluation of possible alternatives, is highly participatory and democratic - completely the opposite of what we are used to accepting as being "natural".

Next month we are going to examine "participatory economics", and in the meantime I urge you to get your hands on this inspiring, enlightening book. You can order it at the address given above, or by VISA or Master Card by calling 1-800-533-8478, 6 AM - 2 PM (our time) on weekdays. We needn't accept the stated view of our oppressors as to what is possible!

Dave is a regular columnist for Works In Progress.



Democracy 101

Ron Jacobs

In the last month, people in the U.S. and elsewhere have been variously gloating, worrying, and just plain talking about recent events in the Soviet Union. One's response, of course, depends on one's political persuasion. What follows is a series of random thoughts on the apparent fall of Stalinism and what it could mean for progressives here.

Although people in the streets of Russia and the other republics may be hoping for political democracy, what they're being offered is capitalism. As anyone who lives on the downside of capitalism knows, only the well-to-do have any real power or freedom. The workers who have given up their sons (and daughters) in wars fought "to make the world safe for democracy" soon discover that corporate capitalism is as heartless as hardline Communism. It takes our children, our lovers, our brothers and sisters, fills them full of false patriotism, sends them off to war, and then, if they make it home, denies them what they went to fight for.

The failure of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is partially due to its forms of installation and maintenance. That is, from the top down with the backing of the army. The failure of the coup is evidence of this. There is obviously a crisis in socialism. A primary reason for this crisis is certainly the lack of democracy. But capitalism is not the answer. It has its own crises, foremost among them is the continuing expansion of the economic underclass on a global level. The increase in the number of the poor and hungry proves the inherently non-democratic nature of transnational capitalism.

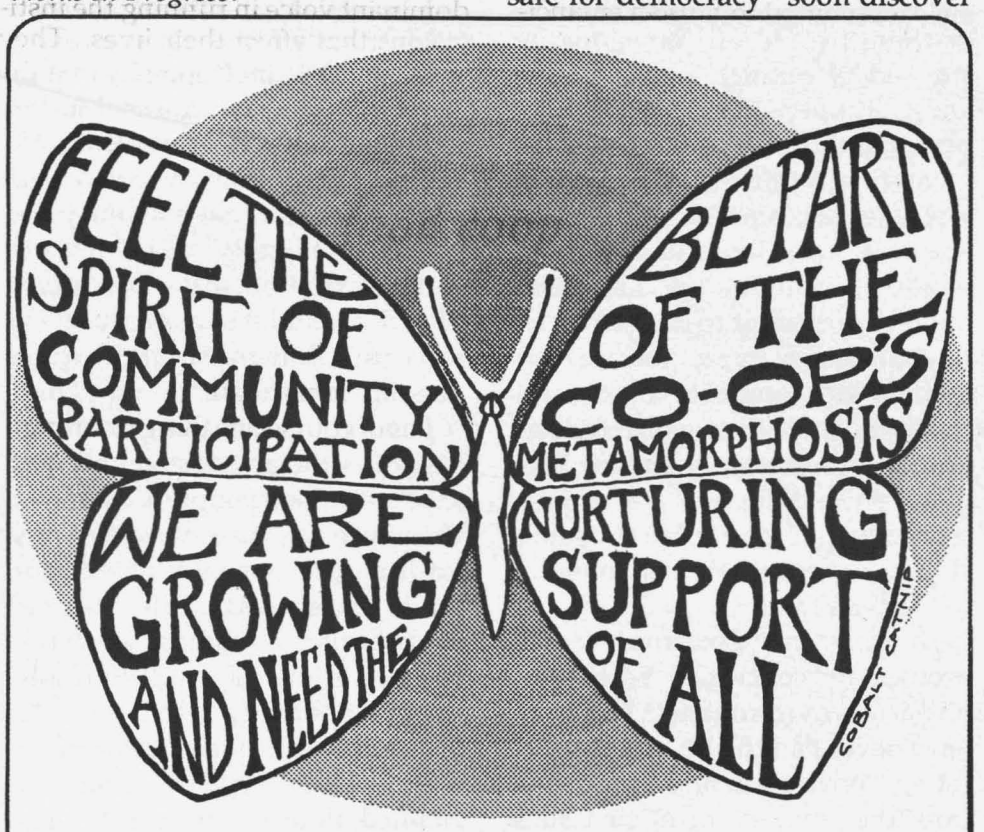
Despite George Bush's claims, we do not live in a democracy. . . It's not democracy when people are denied medical care and food because they can't afford it.

Although it seems to many of us people in the street that now is the perfect time to reduce the military budget and convert much of our economy to peacetime pursuits, this is not part of the plan. In fact, mainstream commentators (J. Krauthammer, for one) are insisting on the need to seize what is being called the unipolar moment and expand U.S. influence in as many places as possible. At the same time, these voices encourage the conversion of formerly soviet weapons production into peacetime uses. Peace isn't really part of the program. What is in the program is a desire to grab as much power and control now in hopes that, if necessary, the U.S. will be in a dominant position should the economic rivalry with Europe and Japan require military posturing to maintain.

For those nations and peoples outside of the north's economic oligarchy — third world states and peoples, as well as other disenfranchised — even harder times lay ahead. In order to survive, the disenfranchised need to fight the transnational agenda by building relationships which circumvent the corporations and their agenda. We must challenge the direct assault on our lives by big business with direct action — their electoral process is set up for them, not us.

Despite George Bush's claims, we do not live in a democracy. It's just that our rulers and their machine are more clever in their forms of control. It is not democracy when the major political parties represent only the well off. It is not democracy when the laws, and the courts and police hired to uphold them from D.C. to Olympia, protect property rights and not human rights. It is not democracy when tens of thousands of the world's people are killed in wars fought only to maintain greed and power. It is not democracy when the poor, working and non-working, cannot find decent, affordable housing while those at the top of the monetary heap own two or three places of residence. It's not democracy when people are denied medical care and food because they can't afford it. It's not democracy when public schools are denied funding and private schools are too expensive for the majority of young people and their parents to afford. And, finally, it is not democracy when those of us who oppose these inhuman disgraces are denied access to channels of communication — not just because of what we say and think, but because we don't have millions of dollars to buy the access.

We can learn something from the upheavals in the rest of the world. But it isn't that the American system works. Because we know it doesn't. What we can learn is there must be another way. A way that depends on the people who feel powerless, not on the people who refuse to give up their power.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Re-inventing Environmentalism: Towards a Multi-cultural Movement

Victor Lewis

It will come as news to very few people that the U.S. environmental movement has traditionally been an overwhelmingly "white" cultural phenomenon. The concerns of the movement have reflected the imagination and priorities of the largely white, middle-class constituency that has dominated its ranks. As a result, the movement has focused much of its energy on problems in the wilderness to the neglect of the inner city, while both demand our attention.

If environmentalists are to be successful in securing the future of ours or any species, however, we must take immediate steps to "re-invent" environmentalism within an explicitly multicultural context that sheds the conditioned limitations of its privileged birth, and acknowledges and embraces the environmental concerns of people of color and the poor. This next environmental movement must also recognize the leadership that disenfranchised communities can and do provide towards building a sustainable, global community. The seeds of this transformation have already been planted, but they still require our thoughtful cultivation and care in order to bear fruit.

The Other Environmentalists

There are at least three distinct movements involved in environmental activism in the U.S. The "traditional" environmental movement, which includes organizations like the Environmental Defense fund, The Audubon Society, and Sierra Club, make up one group. Organizations like the Greens, Earth First!, Greenpeace, and the bioregionalists compose a second group, which includes but is not limited to a strong "counterculture' membership. The third group is characterized by its roots in communities — often poor and minority communities. This movement is known as "grassroots", community-based, or "populist" environmentalism.

A wound that must be healed if environmental activism is ever to succeed in bringing about a just and sustainable society is the lack of mutual recognition between the traditional and grassroots movements. While both groups would learn and profit from mutual understanding and cooperation, the traditional movement is likely to undergo greater transformations in the early stages of such an association.

Luke Cole is an environmental poverty lawyer in San Francisco, working for California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA). He sees the rift between traditional and populist environmentalism as based on the fundamentally different motivations behind them. "The mainstream environmental movement, characterized by the 'Group of Ten' big environmental groups, has been slow to recognize that poor people and people of color face a disproportionately large impact from most environmental hazards, including air pollution, toxics disposal, hazards in the workplace, and pesticides. The relationship between the community-based activists who are often acting out of a survival instinct, and the traditional environmental groups which are often acting out of an aesthetic instinct, is tenuous at best."

Grassroots environmental groups organize in response to threats to the survival and well-being of their communities and an awareness of being treated unfairly. They look at what environmental hazards are being put where, and why, and typically find that they are being subjected to environmental risks while others reap the benefits. The demands of these groups for fair, just, and respectful treatment has the potential to bring a new coherence and moral strength to the environmental movement as a whole.

"The mainstream environmental movement. . . has been slow to recognize that poor people and people of color face a disproportionately large impact from most environmental hazards. . ." Luke Cole

Building Coalitions

Dr. Robert Bullard, a leading exponent of the grassroots movement, is a professor of Sociology at U.C. Riverside, and the author of *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*, a pioneering work which "chronicles the efforts of five black communities, empowered by the civil rights movement, to link environmentalism with the issues of social justice."

According to Bullard, these grassroots groups are not only "the conscience of the environmental movement," they can also provide a critical link between the front lines and the national groups. They can provide crucial, up to date, "on-the-ground" information about environmental problems, he says.

"As issues crop up, these organizations know what's going on, they can filter the information upward, and it's not like a top down kind of thing," says Bullard.

The relative non-participation of people of color and poor people in the traditional environmental movement has been misinterpreted. The neighborhoods and workplaces of these people are often highly stressed physically, economically, and culturally, and they rightfully prioritize those immediate environments first. White, middle-class environmentalists are more likely to live and work in relatively clean, non-toxic communities. This gives them the freedom to narrowly define wilderness areas and wildlife as their "environments" of concern. In addition, they are more likely to have the discretionary income, mobility, physical access, leisure time, social sanction, and sense of ownership to support their enjoyment of wilderness areas.

Disenfranchised communities are profoundly concerned with their physical environments, but they have never had the luxury of separating "environmental" problems from the complex of other issues confronting them. They are bound by necessity to address the total web-work of threats to their communities in a wholistic fashion. Long years of experience grappling with many interwoven problems simultaneously are a potential gift from people at the grassroots to other sections of the environmental movement.

In defining environmentalism too narrowly, mainstream environmentalists sometimes inadvertently alienate their natural grassroots allies. Bullard points out that this process can be as simple as ignoring a group that doesn't have the right kind of name. "If you define groups that emerge and mobilize as non-environmental groups simply because they don't have "environment" in their name, or simply because they emerge out of civic groups, church groups, civil rights groups, etc., and deal with housing issues, with public health issues, and not just focus in on one issue, that's a mistake." Such mistakes, he says, do a disservice to groups, often led by people of color, that are in many cases more comprehensive in scope than the traditional environmental groups.

We need to learn a deepened appreciation of the fact that human beings live in "environments" and eco-systems. Our cities, our rural communities, our tribal communities, our industrial areas, as well as the wilderness areas, should all be understood as habitats; as the biological and social communities that they are.

The Urban Dimension

Human beings are rapidly emerging as the "urban species." More than 70 percent of people living in the U.S. live in cities. Significantly, there are massive concentrations of people of color in our urban centers. Locally, 51 percent Oakland's population is African-American, and 85.6 percent of San Francisco's school children are people of color. The ecology of metropolitan areas is inextricably involved with the ecologies of communities where people of color live. Urban ecology is a growing concern for the environmental movement, but to understand it fully we need to appreciate its cultural as well as physical dimensions. Specifically, we must come to terms with the institutionalized inequities in urban centers that are established and distributed along the lines race, class and gender. This will give us a context for the transformation of the destructive consumption and waste patterns which now dominate our cities and their industrial machinery.

Carl Anthony is an Oakland-based African-American architect, urban planner, and activist. He is president of the Board of Directors at Earth Island Institute, the director and cofounder of the Urban Habitat Project for Social and Environmental Justice, and consulting planner for the Center for Economic Conversion. One of Anthony's central concerns is deepening our awareness of metropolitan areas as eco-systems and charting a path to the future that will shape cities in

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keeping with social as well as ecological wisdom.

"Almost by definition the city is a multicultural phenomenon," he said in an interview. "In order to bring the city into balance with nature we have to respect the diversity of the human communities, and in fact, in order to set an urban ecological agenda we need to have multicultural leadership that brings forth the strength and diversity of the communities that inhabit a city."

Two Bay Area examples of this emerging grassroots urban leadership are the District 7 Democratic Club in San Francisco, and the West County Toxics Coalition, in Richmond, California. Both organizations are composed primarily of people of color living in the shadow of massive production facilities and waste sites owned by powerful corporate and government interests. Both organizations have earned a reputation for getting things done.

Sam Murray of the District 7 Democratic Club lives and works in the Bayview-Hunter's Point area, one of the most economically depressed communities in San Francisco. He finds the daily hardships of his neighbors no impediment to his organizing them to respond to ecological issues. On April 18, 1990, Sam hosted a neighborhood forum on toxic wastes for which over 350 people tuned out. "A lot of people in the public sector don't believe that minorities really care about toxic wastes, and the reason for that is they feel we are hung up on food, clothing, shelter, and jobs. I proved that to be untrue. I had well over 350 people at my toxic waste forum from just this community. City Hall failed to get one tenth of this kind of turnout with a fistful of money to fund them."

The West County Toxics Coalition (WCTC), based in Richmond, California is a jewel in the crown of the national grassroots environmental community. Not content to just put up with the smelly air, and the unusually high rates of cancer, respiratory problems, and skin conditions in their community, this small organization, nestled in one of the most industry-intensive areas in Northern California, has attracted national attention for its war against the polluting practices of Chevron and other corporations operating there. In April, they received supportive visits to their community by Earth Day 1990 director Denis Hayes, National Toxics Campaign director, Jon O'Conner, and 1988 presidential candidate Jesse Jackson.

Henry Clark, the president of WCTC, says his organization is fighting for the health of the planet as well as for the lives of his community. He has important words for members of traditional groups that don't know what grassroots activists do.

"We contribute tremendously to the total protection of the environment," he said. "We organize people who are living in toxic hotspots, who are on the front lines, facing the frontal toxic assault, living around these communities and the greater environment, contributing to the destruction of the ozone layer, the greenhouse effect and all that."

As members of the National Toxics Campaign, groups like WCTC work on all the same issues as the traditional groups-issues such as air pollution, global warming and ozone depletion, but they also go a step further; using the proven strategies of the civil rights movement, they organize and empower people in unfairly-treated communities to represent their own interests in survival and justice. Clark says it is a question of environmental democracy. "We organize these people to empower them to protect their communities and their lives, and demand their environmental rights. This is about environmental democracy, as we call it. The right to know what type of chemicals we're exposed to, the right to inspect these facilities that are polluting our communities, and the right to negotiate with these companies around our health and safety concerns."

". . . we need to have multicultural leadership that brings forth the strength and diversity of the communities that inhabit a city." Carl Anthony

The commitment of groups like WCTC to reduce and stop the flow of pollutants coming into their communities, rather than attempt to control them makes them essential allies to the traditional organizations that concentrate on tactics such as lobbying and litigation.

The Rural Dimension

On September 30, 1962, in an abandoned theatre in Fresno, California, the charter convention of the group that would become the United Farm Workers AFL-CIO took place. *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson's classic invective against the thoughtless use of agricultural pesticides, had been published only three days earlier. Carson's powerfully written and well-documented work made several references to the probable human costs of pesticide exposures, but lacked detailed information of the subject, primarily because farmworkers, who have always received the most direct and lethal pesticide exposures, were routinely denied adequate health care for their ailments and were quickly fired from their jobs if they complained to anyone about being poisoned. These conditions still prevail today.

I wish Carson could have attended this convention. She would have learned first-hand about the skin rashes, dizziness, respiratory ailments, miscarriages, birth defects, cancers, and deaths, faced by farmworkers every day due to pesticides. It would have confirmed her gravest suspicions, and perhaps resulted in a stronger social justice voice in the environmental movement that she was to inspire.

In their landmark 1970 contracts with growers, won through a successful grape boycott, the UFW negotiated a ban on the use of DDT and a whole family of related pesticides on fields worked by union members. The EPA eventually followed suit with a federal ban on DDT 2 years later. Since then, these poisons have been sold and used primarily in Third World countries. At the time of the ban, the eagle, sacred to many indigenous peoples—a bird chosen as the emblem of this country, and of the UFW—was on the very brink of extinction. While Rachel Carson alerted the world that DDT mimics and fatally disrupts the sex hormone metabolism of birds, Cesar Chavez, president of the UFW played an important role in preventing the disappearance of this land's great birds of prey from Earth. Seldom, if ever, did this group of struggling Latino farmworkers think of themselves as "environmentalists."

Dr. Marion Moses, a nationally recognized authority on pesticide-related illness, is the former director of the National Farmworkers Health Group, and currently directs the Pesticide Education Center in San Francisco. Here she recalls the day she was first awakened to the danger of pesticides. "The grape strike started in September of 1964. I worked in a trailer-clinic that they had for the strikers because the local doctors wouldn't treat the striking farmworkers. And it was at the time, Cesar asked me, I'll never forget it, he said, 'Do you know anything about pesticides?' Well, I didn't know anything about pesticides. Frankly, I really didn't. And he says, I can still hear him say it, he's still saying it today, 'I know they're killing our people.'"

The farmworkers of this country are the backbone of the U.S. food production system, the most generative one in the world. Due to hazardous working and living conditions, the life expectancy of a farmworker is more than 20 years lower than the national average. Almost all of our farmworkers are people of color. Their wages, access to housing, healthcare and education are abominable. At the same time, they are the most organized, dedicated, and tireless proponents of healthy, non-toxic agricultural practices to be found anywhere in the country. If we are to be successful in creating a sustainable agricultural program in the U.S., it will be in partnership with the farmworkers. What they want for themselves is in the interests of all people, and the entire life community. For them, the fights for social and environmental justice are indistinguishable.

Conclusion

We are all in the same boat, although not necessarily on the same deck. We need to bear in mind that women, people of color, and the poor have often been unwillingly restricted to damaged and flooding compartments of this boat, while many of those on the upper decks have shut their ears and turned away, looked on helplessly, or focused their efforts on preventing any spreading of the damage. We are beginning to learn, I hope, that if we are to survive the dangers ahead and flourish undiminished in our humanity, we must all work together to turn back the waters of destruction where they affect those among us who are the most vulnerable.

Victor Lewis, a contributing editor for CREATION magazine ,is Co-editor of the Race, Poverty and the Environment newsletter. He is on the policy board for the Urban Habitat Program, a faculty member at the Institute In Culture and Creation Spirituality at Holy Names College in Oakland, California, and the founder of Environmentalists Against Racism. This originally appeared in the book Bay Area Greenpages, *1990 by Green Media Group PO Box 11314 Berkely CA 94701.*

Keep your Love alive

Love can't protect you from A.I.D.S. -
but safer sexual practices can.
With a virus that can infect anyone of us,
WHY WAIT TO BE TESTED/
If you are infected with the A.I.D.S. virus
or think you might be . . .
THE H.I.V. INTERVENTION PROGRAM (H.I.P.)
may be able to help you
STAY HEALTHIER LONGER.
For Information about
ANONYMOUS H.I.V. Testing
or the H.I.P. Program contact
The Olympia A.I.D.S. Task Force at
352-2375
or stop by our office at 203 E. 4th Ave #508
in downtown Olympia.

Let Postal Workers Do Their Jobs

September 5, 1991

Dear Governor,

It has come to our attention that on November 1, of 1991, the state of Washington will begin to sort all of the incoming mail previously sorted by the Olympia Post Office. According to a State Mil Operations Study dated October of 1990, it was recommended that it would be more cost effective for the state to sort the incoming mail itself rather than to have the USPS continue to do so.

As workers directly involved in the Olympia Post Office mail operation, we know this to be untrue. To begin with, the sorting of the mail and its delivery is paid for with postage fees. The state also uses caller and P.O. box service for a minimal fee. Obviously, if the state should begin to sort the incoming mail itself, it will have to pay a labor force to do this work. The costs would be significantly more in addition to the current fees already paid for sorting by USPS.

That the state would be foolish to take the incoming mail was acknowledged by the Postmaster of Olympia at a labor management meeting on June 22, 1990. Postmaster Mike Loe was asked by the union, 'What do you think is the most effective way for the state to go?" (to sort the incoming mail themselves or have the USPS sort the mail) Postmaster Loe answered, "If I was an outside consultant, I would say it's a steal (for the state) to let the Olympia Post Office do it." Mike Loe was a part of the Study Team recommending that the state take the mail because as he put it to us, "It's a bargain for them, we lose money on it."

Although the State Mail Operations Study ignores the huge costs the state would incur, it does include enough information to understand our point. According to the Study, the Olympia post office uses roughly 65 work hours per day to sort the state mail. Sixty-five percent of this mail is sorted to 117 specific addresses available for pick up at the Post Office through caller service. The state pays $340 a year for each caller service. The total cost of this service could be around $40,000 a year. However, currently it is much less because the Post Office does not charge the state for all caller services. There is no way that the state could possibly pay less than $40,000 per year for the same 65 hours of work per day.

The Study mentions the use of machines as a cure all. The State may enjoy a certain amount of savings on their mail preparation for outgoing mail. However, we are currently running the incoming state mail through our own OCR (Optical Code Recognition) and BCS (Bar-Code Scanner) machines. The incoming mail, which is largely unmachinable, sorted manually or with machines, is the responsibility of the USPS. The State should not have to take on the duties or costs associated with it.

If anything, the State should think about having the Post Office do more of the sorting. According to the State Study, the State collectively spends 363 work hours each day processing incoming mail. This estimate excludes the campus mail room which is approximately 68 additional work hours per day. Further, there are the costs of delivery. Again relying upon the study, the Campus Mail room alone uses about 68 work hours per day to deliver mail to agencies.

The state could improve their addressing to enable the post office to perform as fine a sort as the state is currently doing themselves. Each person or department receiving mail could then have it delivered to their office or pick it up through a P.O. box caller service or firm holdout.

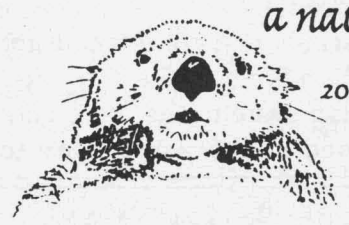
The State government, and hence it's citizens should not pay for mail service that is supposed to be paid for by Postal Service revenues.

The state is entitled to free street delivery as with any other citizen and only a few agencies take advantage of this right. Although street delivery provides the mail later in the day than box service, it still allows for the same day deposit of funds and pick up service.

As workers in the Olympia Post Office, we want to provide good service to our neighbors in the community. We have been able to provide good service to the state in years past. The last few years however have seen a reduction in service to state agencies. This is because the Olympia management does not staff the state section adequately enough to get the mail up at 7am, although they do get it up by 9am. Since it takes the same amount of people to get the mail up (65 hours) there is no reason why the mail cannot all be sorted by 7am if postal management simply arranges to have people scheduled to do this work earlier. We would like to work with the State on encouraging the post office to do so.

The State government, and hence it's citizens should not pay for mail service that is supposed to be paid for by Postal Service revenues. The idea of state tax money being spent on a service that is already provided is fiscally irresponsible. We are asking that you look into the matter and put a stop to this proposed plan of the state performing even more of the work which should be provided by the USPS. We would be glad to work with you in the state's interaction with the Olympia post office or in reviewing the Study. This letter has touched on some of the problems we foresee. If you have any questions or would like to set up a meeting for further discussion, please contact us soon through Louie Mackey or Clint Burelson at the address below or at 357-2286. Your promptness in this matter would be greatly appreciated as this issue affects not only us as postal workers but every tax paying citizen of Washington State.

Sincerely,
Olympia Local 2354
American Postal workers Union
P.O. Box 1953
Olympia, WA 98507

THE WILD SIDE
a nature store

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Capitalism Falsely Accused

Marvin Saillard

The chairwoman of the Washington State Communist Party was quoted in The Olympian on Thursday, September 5, 1991, "If capitalism continues to take advantage of workers, the party will be needed." The communistic system did not protect the workers in the Soviet Union, and the capitalistic system needs militant labor unions, because neither system understands the economics behind worker exploitation. To gain the necessary understanding we must define what capital is, and show how some people can get monopoly control of capital which allows them to take advantage of workers (labor). Capital is a product of labor working on land. Land, labor and capital are the only three factors in the production of wealth. Land is the passive factor provided freely by nature. Labor is the active factor provided by human beings. Capital is a secondary factor produced by labor to make labor more productive in producing wealth. Capital is also consumer wealth during production. Production is not complete until the wealth is in the hands of the consumer. Consumer goods in warehouses, in retail stores, and during transport, are still capital. In the natural order of things he who produces capital and wealth would be the owner. But by specialization of labor, by use of tools (capital), and by the use of money, simple basic economics becomes obscured. Instead of a fair, honest, free-market economy, we get entangled in monopoly ownership of land and capital.

Instead of a fair, honest, free-market economy, we get entangled in monopoly ownership of land and capital.

In a free-market economy capital is accumulated by **making** products, saving the wages of labor, and investing in capital. Since labor can produce more with tools and machinery than without them, labor and capital are each entitled to a return from the wealth produced. Because the location of the land gives the land-user an advantage in relation to the presence and activity of all of the people, or in relation to the presence of, or the availability of, natural resources and natural features, the return from this community/location-value is rent-of-land. The community government should collect the rent-of-land from the land-user as public revenue in payment for the privilege of exclusive use of the land which was made valuable by the needs of everyone in the community, state, nation, and world. The land-title secures the property rights of the land-user (labor) and capital-provider in all that is built and produced at that location. The privilege of holding title

to the land without paying the full market rental-value of the land to the community as public revenue, provides the land-owner with monopoly privileges which allow him to charge other people for permission to use the land, and to keep the net-rent-of-land-after-taxes as unearned income. It also permits him to sell the unearned income and the land-title to someone else at an unearned profit.

The land-owner has a claim upon production without ever producing anything. He can accumulate capital **without making and saving before investing** in capital. **He can gain a monopoly in the ownership of capital without any productive labor on his part.** This means that labor must produce products without receiving in wages an amount equivalent to its productivity. In the presence of monopolized capital there is no free-market to determine the value of the contribution of labor. **The landlord turned capitalist is able to take advantage of the workers.** In a free-market economy where capital was accumulated through **the make, save and invest cycle,** the owner of capital would not be able to take advantage of the workers. In the economics of **land monopoly** in which landowners can keep most of the rent-of-land as unearned income, **the landowner launders his rent-of-land by buying capital and calling himself a capitalist.** If you call a horse's tail a horse's leg, that does not make it a leg. If you call a landlord a capitalist, that does not change the fact that he got his capital as a landlord by taking advantage of the producers of capital (workers). This is why the rich get richer and the poor get poorer, and people all over the world turn to the false promises of communism.

Marvin Saillard, a regular columnist and Editorial Board Member is a Georgist.

Love Connection

Matt Love

Another Point of View On Abortion

On the Rainbow Coalition page of the September issue of Works in Progress, Dan Taylor wrote about seeing a protest in front of clinic where abortions are performed. He wrote "One (sign) boldly said "Your Mother Let You Live'." On seeing it, he "become immediately sick".

Interesting response. I can't help but wonder what Gianna Jessen would think if she saw the same demonstration. Sisterlife magazine, a publication of Feminists for Life of America, describes her as "a bubbly, charming girl with a blond ponytail; fourteen years ago, she was scalded and struggling for breath, the survivor of a saline abortion that failed to kill. She has overcome much of her cerebral palsy and has singing/speaking engagements across the country. Frederica Mathewes-Green, editor of Sisterlife, wrote that she heard Gianna speak last June, and "she is just so beautiful, cheerful, a bright spirit–a real walking triumph of light over darkness."

On the issue of the left and abortion, Mathewes-Green writes, "I think most progressive folks know deep inside that violence is wrong, and that defending abortion requires mental contortions. When we touch that inner awareness of the logic of love, some will find it immediately clear that we must strive for a better way."

She wrote that when she printed an essay title, "Did I Leave the Left, or Did the Left Leave Me?" in Sisterlife, she received more mail on it ("I thought I was the only one!") than anything else she published. "There are a lot of closet consistent-lifers out there–and most of them think they're alone."

The term "consistent-lifer" was new to me. I like it. It might be useful to remember that Jesse Jackson was once a consistent-lifer. Apparently his perception of political expediency has caused him to abandon his principles, lending him to support U.S. Military interventions overseas, and abortion. You might now call him a "consistent-deather", which pretty much sums up his political prospects these days, too.

Gianna Jessen's upcoming book will be titled "Born On Fire". Contact her at Alive!, P.O. Box 4264, San Clement, CA 92672.

Contact Sisterlife at 3695 Rogers Avenue, Ellicott City, MD 21043

Second Thoughts On The Ingram Case

I recently spoke with Curt Hart of the "Impact" I haven't been much of a fan of the Impact, but from our conversation, I like Hart; he brings real enthusiasm to his job, and he has a muckraker's "go for the throat" instincts. The topic of discussion was the handling of the Paul Ingram sexual abuse case. Hart was the first local journalist to show enough courage to publicly challenge the way the case was handled.

Hart's editorial on the subject in Impact came in the wake of a fine Mother Jones article a couple of months back, but he has reviewed 1,400 pages of court documents, and he's no Jimmy-Olson-come-lately to the case.

Ingram's confession was the basis for his highly publicized conviction. Yet when the prosecution brought in a witness from California, Richard Ofshe, an expert on Religious Cults, he concluded Ingram was innocent. Unfortunately for the prosecutors, he is also an expert on coerced confessions, and brainwashing. After he concluded this is what happened in Ingram's case, he contacted the judge, and offered his services to the defence. An examination of transcripts of interviews with Ingram and the alleged victims didn't convince me that ritual sexual abuse happened; I came away convinced of something else entirely. It would appear that the Ingram family is deeply dysfunctional but it is very hard to say what really happened, the issues have been so fogged by the charges of Satanic abuse. Almost certainly others charged in the case, held and interrogated in the matter, lives and careers ruined, are entirely innocent.

The matter isn't over. Away from detectives, psychiatrists and the tender mercies of his pastor (who performed an exorcism in his cell in the presence of detectives - one of many bizarre aspects of the proceedings) Ingram has decided he is innocent and is appealing the decision.

Hart tells me Jim Rabie is suing the Sheriff's Department and the Prosecutors Office for false imprisonment and a number of other charges.

Apparently, none of this is newsworthy, at least as far as the mainstream press is concerned. Hart pointed out that the Sheriff's Office, and the Prosecutors Office benefited tremendously from all this; they got a lot of favorable publicity, and now they go around appearing as cult experts. He said that in his opinion, they are experts at nothing. I said that if all the facts of the case came out, they would look like buffoons. "I think they *are* buffoons," he replied. I think the same goes for the mainstream press; not just the Olympian, but the Seattle papers as well.

Fortunately, there are the gadflies. Hart says that the Impact will follow up on the Ingram case. Chris Bader will be writing a series about the Ingram case in the Cooper Point Journal. If you aren't in the habit of picking up the CPJ, you should start, for Chris' writing and Cat Kenney's fine comic strip, "Coven House". Cat's done a few graphics for Works in Progress, and might want me to mention that Pagans are *not* Satanists.

I am transcribing an interview with Debbie Nathan, a Texas reporter who has written extensively on the phenomena of false accusations of Satanic Ritual Abuse, for a future issue of WiP. The interview was conducted by Eli Sterling and Chris Bader on the KAOS talk show "Mouthing Off". Mouthing Off is a three hour all-talk show, broadcast Friday mornings at 10:00, and WiP is well represented by phone calls from various members. Perhaps despite that, it's a great show.

And Now For Something Completely Different

While I'm doing plugs, I'd like to encourage everybody to go to the Crocodile Cafe, 2200 2nd avenue in Seattle on October 10th, and catch the Tone Dogs. This will be your last chance to see them this year. Soon afterwards, they will begin a European tour. I've interviewed Amy Denio, the Dogs' wonderfully talented saxophone player, guitarist, bassist and vocalist for WiP, and she spoke insightfully about the political economy of the music industry, and the intersection of art and commerce. But you should go and hear the music, damn it!

"If pizza is an art
To Mamas has the brushes"
"Losing oneself in Olympia"
Sept. 21, 1987, CPJ
Mamas
120 N. PEAR OLYMPIA (206) 943-9849

(Port, Continued)

principles to help solve our current problems.

PORT DECISIONS

Kirsten: What is the Port's mission?

Jeff: Aiding in economic development and prosperity for the community in Thurston County. Some of the key questions now facing the Port are how to best achieve that mission.

Steve: By some analysis, the Port terminal operation (the Port's current shipping business and main revenue-generator) is losing money. Would you favor contracting out this function to a private business if doing so would guarantee the Port a profit?

Jeff: First of all, whether the Port is making or losing money from the terminal operation is a good question. Either way, the Port's shipping business is going way down. One of the things that concerns me is the lack of alternatives being developed for the terminal operation. . I don't think we should have all our eggs in one basket like we do in the current log export business. We just don't seem to be planning for the fact that the supply of logs is diminishing.

Still, the terminal operation currently represents a major source of revenue for the Port and we'll have to develop a transition between this Port operation and new ones. It's not a matter of whether we should or shouldn't be moving out of this operation, but rather how to make the transition.

On whether the terminal function should be leased or contracted out to a private business, I think a major question we have to look at is what capability the Port may lose to affect public policy by leasing it out. For example, I would hate to relinquish the public's right to influence what is going across the docks. It's important that we look at more than the simple economics of any proposal, and then weigh the varying considerations in coming to a decision. I definitely would want to look at the question of leasing out. I will consider all options. It's not necessarily an all or nothing situation, for example we could lease out one shipping berth. In general, I am not closed in my approach to looking at such decisions, I'm open to additional considerations and new information.

(On the Port's economic transition) . . . One thing we need to think about is defining and recognizing the kinds of jobs we want to maintain in our community. For example, right now Olympia has a large number of white-collar government jobs. If we don't recognize the importance of blue-collar jobs now in our planning, we're essentially telling people who want that kind of work that they don't have a future in Olympia. We may not want to be doing that.

One idea for the community is to get into the recycling business. Transporting recycled paper considering the huge volumes of waste paper produced by state government to the new de-inking facility at Steilacoom might not be immediately profitable, but it would reduce the waste flow to the dump which in turn pushes us down the road to a sustainable city concept.

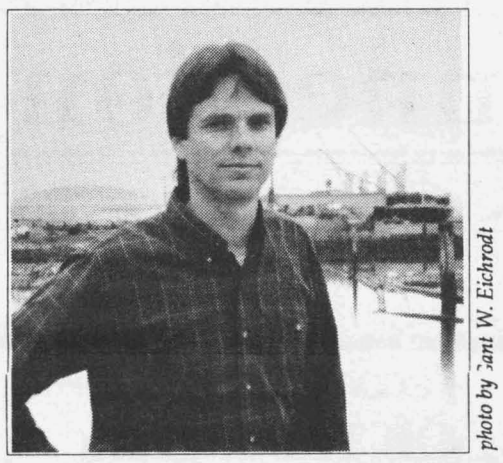


photo by Janet W. Eichrodt

As commissioners what we need to do is bring the public's ideas together into what everyone can have a part in.

Steve: Almost a year ago, the Port Commission voted to close the Cold Storage Plant. What future do you see for this facility? Do you think there is a need for cold storage in the Olympia area and should the Port be in this business?

Jeff: It is a water-related business in that their is need for cold storage for the seafood industry in this area. The closest cold storage is Tacoma, and when that is full one has to go to Seattle. The Tribes as well as other local seafood suppliers could use this facility. It could be a staging area between here and the airport. The geo-duc industry has no processing in Olympia as yet. We also have no ice making facility in this area.

CASCADE POLE CONTAMINATION

Steve: Concerning Cascade Pole, what is more important: Limiting the Port's liability or cleaning up the site so it will be safe for public use?

Jeff: Obviously we need to get it as clean as we want it, as soon as possible, at the most reasonable cost.

Pat: How does being a biologist with a scientific background help you analyze this difficult issue?

Jeff: It's one of the worst hazardous waste sites in the state. The site is getting larger, the pollutants are migrating out of the currently defined site area. The tides in Budd Inlet act like a pump releasing the contaminants into the tide lands and these migration corridors have to be addressed right away. This migration must be stopped as soon as possible.

We need to decide how we are going to clean it up. The level of cleanup is dictated by future use. But the Port at this time does not have any long-term planning. (That is one of the chief liabilities of the Port right now — There is no plan!) We don't really know what the public wants for future use. In the current way of thinking about these issues, the level of cleanup is determined by the risk of exposure. The risk of exposure is determined by whether the future use will be a park in which children play on the soil, or whether it is used as it is now for industrial storage of logs. Much different exposure risks result from different future uses.

The dollar value to cleaning up the site to so many parts per million could be substantially less than if it were cleaned up to parts per billion. But what the public also needs to understand, given the toxicity of these contaminants, is that parts per million and parts per billion can make a big difference in exposure risks.

Steve: As a Port watcher for many years, these are important issues and at this time it seems there is no one on the commission with the scientific knowledge necessary to evaluate these cleanup alternatives. The Port really needs a person like you who understands the long-term implications of this cleanup effort.

COMMISSION DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

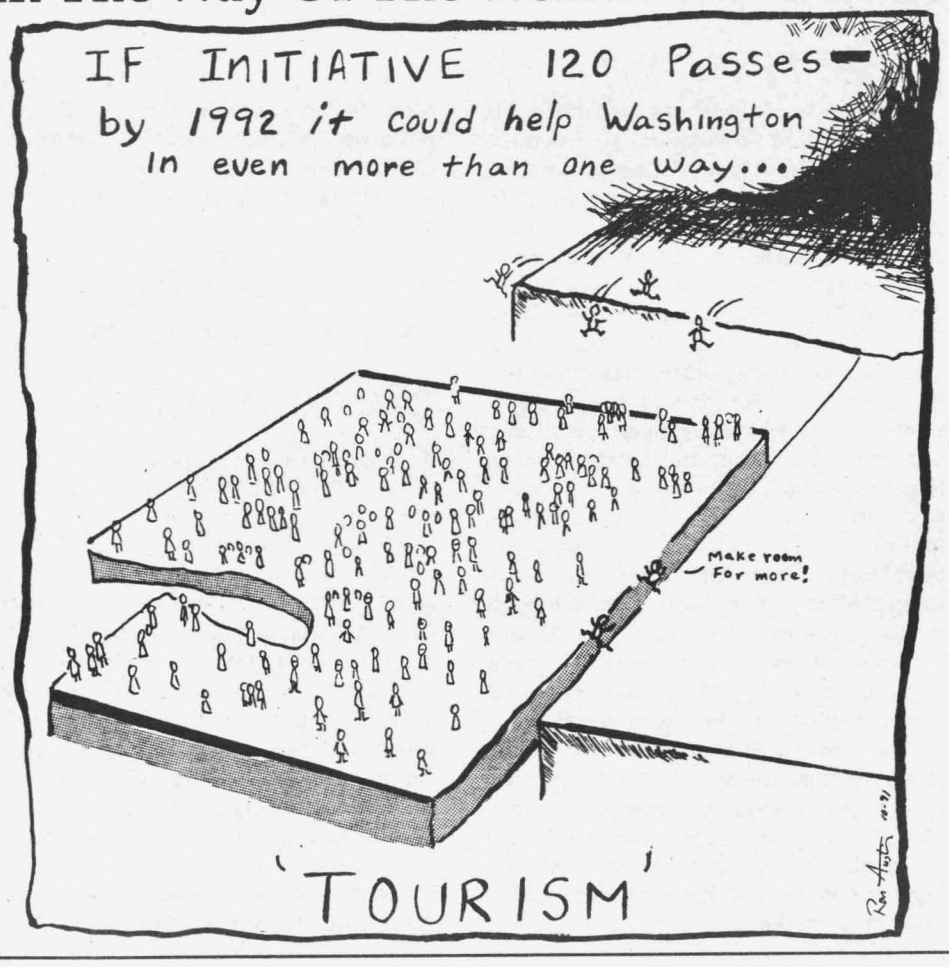
Steve: How do you think you will be able to work with the current Port Commissioners, Sam Bradley and Ray Dinsmore?

Jeff: That will be a real challenge. I am committed to finding the ways that we can reach consensus on issues. Overall, it's better for the public if we do things that way. We need to move away from the polarization that currently exists. As commissioners what we need to do is bring the public's ideas together into what everyone can have a part in. These solutions may not be perfect from every individual's ideal point of view, but because of the current polarized situation, I see my role of helping to develop consensus as central.

Sam has really cracked open the Port's old boys' club. I respect that Sam has insisted on public meetings in the evenings when working people can come and participate. That's very important. Sam has said let's have a public debate. Although I don't agree with all his positions, Sam's definitely fair.

Ray is an interesting man. I've had some good conversations with him. Ray's put a lot of energy into his ideas for the Port, for example with his mosquito fleet proposal for commuter boat transportation. I'd really like to get on a boat and read a book on my way to Seattle. But Ray is up against the Department of Transportation - - they are the real obstacle. Ray has been working real hard on that idea. He can be very determined.

Steve: Ray's an engineer, he's a rational man. Once he starts thinking, he follows an idea to its conclusion. I really respect that. I appreciate that you see consensus building as a key role that you would bring to the commission. In the past I'm afraid the incumbent, Jim Wright, has gone off in his own directions to the extent of directing staff work before there was agreement among the Commissioners that such an effort was what they wanted to do. The community will be best served by three commissioners working together.

I remember the time when Jim Wright assumed that the other commissioners would support applying to the federal government for another E award, an award based on tonnage exported. He directed staff to draw up the application and considerable effort went into it. Opposition finally came out at a commission meeting, when the other commissioners were asked to support the application. When it became clear that the application was not going to get unanimous support, I remember Jim pleading that if they got the award they would all get to go to Washington and shake the President's hand. He was shocked when Sam said he was not particularly interested in shaking the President's hand! Although it was good theater, it really pointed out the gulf that exists between the present commissioners.

In The Way Of The World by Ron Austin